

MAÑJUSRI

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Mañjuśrī is, with the buddhas Amitabha, Akṣobhya, Bhaiṣajyaguru, and the bodhisattvas Maitreya, Avalokitesvara and Samantabhadra, one of the great figures of Mahayana and Tantric Buddhism.

Her name means, "Sweet Majesty", but it is a majesty all spiritual which makes it the repository and the dispenser of the sacred science of the Great Vehicle. His other names, and they are

many, insist on the quality of his eloquence: Mañjughoṣa,, Of soft speech", Mañjusvara,, Of harmonious sounds", Vādirāja or Vāgisvara,, Lord of speech".

His figurative representations are currently widespread throughout the Buddhist world, in India, Tibet, China and Japan). He appears in the form of a religious bodhisattva, wearing the pañcaciraka, composed of five locks of hair or a five-pointed tiara, which earned him the title of Pañcacira. In his right hand he holds the sword (khaḍga) which cuts through all ignorance, and in his left hand the book (pustaka) which conceals all knowledge. He has the lion (simha) for seat and mount. The epithet that the Buddhist texts most often attribute to him is that of Kumārabhūta „Young man” or „Royal prince”.

As Mademoiselle M. Lalou pointed out, Mañjuśrī presents quite close affinities with Pañcasikha, the king of the Gandharvas, well known from the ancient canonical scriptures of Buddhism. As a Gandharva, Pañcaśikha was a musician who charmed the Buddha with the sweetness of his songs and his talent as a harpist 2). He was called Pañcasikha because he wore five curls or braids in the style of young boys 3). A sūtra presents him as an emanation from Brahma Sanatkumāra, a form of the eternally young Brahma" 4). Such analogies, Ms. Lalou concludes, are not fortuitous: worship of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī seem to derive from the same mythical source: the belief

1) Cf. A. Foucher, *Study on Buddhist Iconography in India*, Paris, 1900-05, I, p. 114-120; II, p. 39-49. M. Lalou, *Iconography of fabrics painted in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Paris, 1930. B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1950, p. 100-123.

2) Sakkapanha in *Digha*, 11, p. 267.-See also Hóbbôgirin, p. 95b; J. Hackin, *Asian Arts Review*, X, 11, p. 65, pl. XVIII b. a)

Buddhaghosa in his *Sumangalavilasini*, II, p. 647, explains: Pañcasikho ti pañcaculo pancakundaliko. So kira... pañcacuḷakadāarakakāle, etc.

4) Januvasabha, in *Digha*, 11, p. 211.

to an eternally young god. Timidly represented in Small Vehicle Buddhism by Pañcaśikha, who only ever plays an episodic role, this myth has taken on considerable importance in certain sects of the Great Vehicle. Mañjuśrī, as his epithets and attributes prove, seems to be the Mahayana equivalent of the Brahmanic Kārttikeya and the Hīna-yanist

Pañcaśikha" 5).

Let us add that the cult of Pañcaśikha enjoys great popularity in the North-West of India) and that the Mahāmāyārī 7) attributes to him as his residence the confines of Kashmir (Kaśmīrasamdhi), while she places his eldest son (jyeṣṭhaputra) in the territories of Cīna (Cīnabhūmi), obviously Cinabhukti, a Himalayan district located by Hiuan-tsang near present-day Firozpur 8).

I. The Antiquity of the Cult of Mañjuśrī.

The only examination of the figured monuments would lead to the conclusion that the cult of Mañjuśrī was little practiced during the first centuries of the Christian era, when the Mahayana was in full formation.

The school of Gandhāra still translates only the Hīnayanist conceptions concerning the Buddhist pantheon 9). It provides many Bodhisattvas in princely costume, but representing Śākyamuni almost exclusively. Vajrapāṇi still figures there as a yakṣa, protector of the Buddha. There are indeed some representations of Maitreya, but the Hīnayanists already held him

*) M. Lalou, *Iconography*, p. 69-70.

*) Cf. A. Foucher, *Greco-Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, Paris, 1905-18, I, p. 492, 496, 498; II, p. 27, 158.

7) Around 78-80: cf. S. Lévi, *The Geographical Catalog of the Yakṣa in the Mahāmāyūri*, JA, 1915, p. 35 of the reprint.

8) *If yu ki*, T 2087, k. 4, p. 889 b 22.

9) A. Foucher, *Art g.-b.*, II, p. 376.

as Sakyamuni's immediate successor and the Buddha of the future.

The same observation was made in Mathurā 10) and would be also for Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. We did not find there worth no trace of the great saviors of the Mahāyāna, Avalokitesvara and Mañjuśrī; they do not appear in the repertoire of these schools, at least as it is known to us.

In Central Asia, forms of Avalokitesvara, then Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra appear later on alongside the Buddha. They are absent from the old styles coming directly from the Gandharian school or from an even more evolved form ¹¹⁾. In China, the inscriptions of the caves of Long-men and Che-k'ou ssu near Lo-yang, from Tsien-po chan to Tsi-nan-fou, frequently mention the names of Amitabha and Avalokitesvara, but practically ignore Mañjuśrī ¹²⁾. Yet the latter is represented, with Vimalakirti, on some Chinese stelae of the 6th century ¹³⁾. Vimalakirti lying on his sickbed, a fan in his hand, marvelously embodies the type of the Chinese scholar, while Mañjuśrī asserts his rank by holding in his hand a curved stick, commonly called jou-yi back-scratcher", in actually a t'an-
ping „talking stick" symbolizing eloquent eloquence ¹⁴⁾.

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10) J. Ph. Vogel, *The sculpture of Mathura*, Paris, 1930, p. 43-44.

11) A. Grünwedel, *Alt buddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*, Berlin, 1912, p.

5-6. 12) E. Chavanne. *Archaeological Mission in Northern China*, I, Paris, 1913, p. 322, 546, 562, 574, 579, 581.

13) P. Pelliot, *The caves of Touen-Houang*, Paris, 1921, VI, pl. 324; H. Fernald, *An Early Chinese Sculptured Stele of 575 A.D.*, *Eastern Art*, III, p. 73-111; A. Waley, *Catalogue of Paintings recovered from Tun-Huang by Sir Aurel Stein*, London, 1931, pl. 41 et 42, p. 91-95; W. P. Yetts, *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection: Buddhist Sculpture*, London, 1932, p. 26-28, 41-46; J. Le Roy Davidson, *Traces of Buddhist Evangelism in Early Chinese Art*, avec 7 ill., *Artibus Asiae*, XI, 1948, p. 251-265; *The Lotus Sūtra in Chinese Art*, Yale University, 1954, p. 32-36.

14) J. Le Roy Davidson, *The Origin and Early Use of the Ju-i*, *Artibus Asiae*, XIII, 1950, P. 239-249; E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Leiden, 1959, p. 407. Mañjuśrī and

Vimalakirti had become paragons of "pure conversation" (ts'ing t'an
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If the Buddhist art of the first centuries of the era grants Mañjuśrī only a most modest place, the Vaipulyasūtra were on the contrary largely open to him, and this from the very origins of the Mahāyāna. But we must beware of any hasty generalizations: Mañjuśrī only influences part of the Mahayana literature. The Vaipulyasūtra develop philosophical ideas, if not identical, at least very similar, but each claims a particular devotion to such and such a great Bodhisattva. The history of the pietistic tendencies within this enormous literature is still to be written, but it is obvious that certain sūtra claim to be of Maitreya (such as the Maitreyavyākaraṇa 15), others of Amitabha (such as the Sukhāvatīvyūha), others of Avalokitesvara (like the Karandavyuha), and so on.

Now the sūtras which are inspired by Mañjuśrī and introduce him into their dialogues are very numerous; they appear from the origins of Mahāyāna and rank among the first texts to have been translated into Chinese, at the beginning of the great missionary movement which was to conquer China for Buddhism.

M. Lalou has already come to this conclusion, just by examining the titles of the sūtras that expressly mention Mañjuśrī 16). The study of the very content of the texts only reinforces this observation. Here is, without pretending to be complete, a list of sutras of Mañjuśrean inspiration which were translated into Chinese during the second half of the 2nd and 3rd centuries of our era:

1. Translations of Tche Leou-kia-tch'an (Tche Tch'an) or Loka-kṣema (?) of the Yue-tche. He worked in Lo-yang in the second half of the 2nd century:

15) See History of Indian Buddhism, Louvain, 1958, p. 778-779. The Maitreyavyākaraṇa of Gilgit has just been edited by N. Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, IV, Calcutta, 1959, p. 187-214.

16) M. Lalou, Iconography, P. II.

T 807 Nei tsang po pao king = *Lokānuvartanasūtra.

T 626 A tcho che wang king – Ājatasātrukaṅkṛtyavinodana. —

Other Chinese versions T 627, 628, 629; tib version. Otani Kan -
jur Catalog 882.

T 458 Wen chou che li wen p'ou sa chou king.

According to information dating from the 4th century ¹⁷), Tche Tch'an would still have executed the first translation of the Suramgamasamā-dhisutra in which Mañjuśrī holds an important place. This translation is long lost. Of the ten translations of the Śūramgama-samadhi executed in China from the 2nd to the 6th century, only that of Kumārajīva (T 642) remains. We still have a Tibetan version (OKC 800), some original passages reproduced in the Sikṣāsamuccaya (p. 8.19; 91.8) and a short fragment published in A. F. R. Hoernle, Manuscript Remains, Oxford, 1915, p. 125-131.

2. Translations of Tche K'ien (K'ien, of the Yue-tche", but originally from Lo-yang) who worked in the Wu Empire, mainly in Nanjing, from 222 to 253:

T 474 Wei mo kie king Vimalakirtinirdeśa. It is the oldest tr. that has come down to us. Other versions chin. in T 475 and 476; tib version. OKC 843.

T 632 Houei yin san mei king Tathāgatajñānamudrāsamādhi. See again T 633 and 634; OKC 799.

3. Translations of Tchou Fa-hou, Dharmarakṣa, from India", but originally from Touen-houang. He traveled in the countries of the West, then he returned to Touen-houang; he resided principally in Ch'ang-ngan and Lo-yang and traveled elsewhere in China. He worked from 265 to 308 or 313 and died at 78:

T 263 Tcheng fa houa king - Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, version

¹⁷) Ch'ou san tsang ki tsi, T 2145, k. 2, p. 6b11; k. 7, p. 49 to 18 (quoting Tche Min-tou and Tao-ngan).

executed, in 286, on a text "augmented" from the Lotus. See again T 262, 264; OKC 781; not to mention the Sanskrit recension which has come to us.

T 318 Wen chou che li fo t'ou yen tsing king Mañjuśrībuddha-kṣetragaṇavyuha. See again T 310 (no. 15), 319; OKC 760 (#15).

T 461 Wen chou che li hien pao tsang king Ratnakaraṇḍavyuha. Compare T 462; OKC 785.

T 477 Ta fang teng ting wang king — *Mahāvaipulyamūrdhābhi-ṣiktarāja. Compare T 478 and 479.

T 588 Siu tchen t'ien tzu king *Suvikrāntacintadevaputra-pariprecha. Compare OKC 828.

T 589 Ma nie king - *Mañjuśrīvikurvaṇaparivarta. Compare OKC 828.

T 636 Wu ki pao san mei king = *Anargharatnasamādhi. Counter T 637.

T 810 Chu to yao tsi king = Buddhasaṃgītisūtra. A manuscript of this text, dated 296, was discovered at Touen-houang and is currently preserved in Japan. There is also a Tibetan version: OKC 894.

T 629 Fong po king Aṣṭaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana, translated as an anonymous contemporary of Dharmarakṣa, between the years 265 and 316. Compare T 626, 627, 628; OKC 882.

4. Translation by Nie Tao-tchen, who lived under the Western Chin, around the year 300. He collaborated with his father, Nie Tch'eng-yuan, in the translations of Dharmarakṣa until the death of this last, then he himself had written other translations:

T 463 Wen chou che li pan nie p'an king *Mañjuśrīparinirvāṇa. To my knowledge, we have no other reviews of this interesting Sutra, mentioned in Li tai san pao ki T 2034, k. 6, p. 65 c 7, and the Ta T'ang nei tien lou T 2149, k. 2, p. 236c8.

From this necessarily incomplete list, two concepts stand out.

clusions: at the very origins of Mahāyāna, Mañjuśrī intervenes in the Vaipulyasutra and he was known to the Chinese from the later Han dynasty. Other Sūtra and Sastra, of an identical inspiration, will moreover be translated without interruption until the end of the 12th century.

It should be noted, however, that the Prajñāpāramitā, the main source of Nagarjuna and the Madhyamika school, was not part of the movement. Except in the translation of Tche Tch'an 18), Mañjuśrī does not appear in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā considered by M. Conze as the primitive slice of this literature 19). The Pañcavimśatisāha-srikā and the Śatasahasrikā mention it only in passing 20). It is only from the Saptasatikā that the Prajñā counted a section called Mañjuśrī. But the Chinese translations of this section go no further back than the 6th century 21).

II. Mañjuśrī, bodhisattva of the tenth ground.

At the end of the 4th century BC, Euhemerus of Messina published a Sacred Inscription which he claimed to have read on an altar in the city of Panara, capital of Panchaia, in the Indian Ocean. This inscription reported that Uranos, Kronos and Zeus had been kings of Panchaia, deified after their death. The author started from there to build his theory according to which the gods of Antiquity had been human beings but deified after their death by the fear or the admiration of the people. In the history of religions euhemerism is not dead, because it responds

18) T 224, k. I, p. 425 c 6, where Maitreya and Mañjuśrī are mentioned.

19) E. Conze, The Literature on Perfect Wisdom, The Middle Way, XXVII, 1952, p.

20. See also R. Hikata, Suvikrāntavikrāmi edited, Fukuoka, 1958, p. XXXVI-LI.

20) Pañcavimsatis., ed. N. Dutt, p. 5.10, 17.18; Śatas., ed. P. Ghosa, p. 7.3, 55.13. 21)

The so-called Mañjuśrī section is represented by the Suvikrāntavikrāmi of which there are three Chinese translations: that of Mandrasena (T 232) from Fu-nan was performed in 503 or 506; that of Samghavarman, also from Fu-nan (T 233), between 506 and 520; that of Hsian-tsang (T 220, section 7), between 660 and 663.

to a deep tendency of the human spirit to seek reality through myth. The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas themselves have not escaped it. Thus, the past thirty years have seen ever-renewed attempts to make the Bodhisattva Maitreya a historical figure and, despite his inconceivable miraculous powers, Mañjuśrī himself risked the same fate 22).

M. Demiéville has often spoken out against this conception, which manifests a surprising ignorance of the most elementary data of religious and literary psychology, as well as of the notion of historicity" 23). Applied to Bodhisattvas, the Euhemerism is not just a gratuitous prejudice, it is also, from the Buddhist point of view, a doctrinal error. "absolutely do not exist. The basic theory of the Mahā-yana is the non-birth (anutpāda) and the non-destruction (anirodha) of beings and things. These are „calm from the beginning" (ādiśānta) and „essentially nirvana" (prakṛtiparinirvṛta). How then can we speak of essence or of becoming? Nothing and no one escapes this absence of proper nature (niḥsvabhāvatā) are not an exception.

It is by tens of thousands that one could find in the texts affirmations like these: „I do not discover any thing which is Bodhisattva; I find nothing that is Perfection of Wisdom. Not finding, perceiving, discovering anything that is Bodhisattva or quality of Bodhisattva, anything that is Perfection of Wisdom, what Bodhisattva

22) We read for example in A. Grünwedel: „Es scheint also fast als ob dieser Bodhisattva eine wirkliche historische Persönlichkeit gewesen sei" (Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei, Leipzig, 1900, p.

134). 23) See lastly P. Demiéville, La Yogācārabhūmi de Sangharakṣa, BEFEO, XLIV, 1954, pp. 381, 1. 4.

Mañjuśrī is a Bodhisattva of the tenth ground, arrived at the end of his careers.

Entirely spiritual, the career of a Bodhisattva comprises four stages ³⁰⁾ :

1. The preliminary stage called prakṛticaryā, the period during which the innate qualities are manifested and which begins when the future Bodhisattva plants the roots of good (kuśalamūla) which he will later apply to the conquest of enlightenment.
2. The second stage is that of the Bodhisattva who conceives for the first time the thought of enlightenment (prathamacittotpādika), a thought which presents the double character of being associated with the desire for supreme and perfect enlightenment (sambodhikāmanāsahāgata) and of having the object of the property of others (parārthālambana) ³¹⁾. During this stage, the Bodhisattva strengthens his adhesion (adhimukti) to the Buddhist doctrine of the Great Vehicle and formulates the great vows (mahapraṇidhāna). However, he is still only a beginner (adikarmika) who engages in the path of the Vehicle (prathama-yanasamprasthita) and has the desire to travel it (gantukāma), but who has not yet left.
3. During the third stage, the Bodhisattva exercises the career of the Bodhisattvas (bodhisattvacaryāñ caran) and the practices conforming to his vows (anulomacaryā). He is a "traveler" (ganty), "endowed with practices" (caryāpratipanna). This stage embraces the first seven "grounds" (bhūmi), or spiritual stages, called: 1. joyous (pramudit), 2. spotless (vimalā), 3. radiant (prabhākarī), 4. of innate wisdom (arciṣmatī) , 5. very difficult to conquer (sudurjayā), 6. presence (abhimukhi), 7. land that goes far (dūramgamā).

³⁰⁾ Prajñāpāramitā T 221, k. 15, p. 101c; 102a; T 223, k. 19, p. 358c, 359a; T 220, k. 341, p. 752c-753b; k. 456, p. 302a-302b; k. 521, p. 666c; Mahāsamnipāta, T 397, k. 10, p. 67 a. But there are some discrepancies between the sources: cf. L. de la Vallée Poussin, Bodhisattva, Hastings Encycl., II, p. 743b-748b.

³¹⁾ Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. U. Wogihara, p. 12.

4. The fourth stage is that of practice without retreat (avini-vartanacaryā). It embraces the eight to ten earths: 8. unagitated earth (acala), 9. earth of good wisdom (sādhumatī), 10. earth of cloud of law (dharmameghā).

The eighth ground, unagitated ground (acalā), also called ground without retreat (avaivartikā), is characterized by an unshakable conviction relative to the mahāyānic doctrine according to which things are not born (anutpattikadharmakṣānti). The thought of the Bodhisattva no longer conceives an object (nimitta), and it is without effort (abhoga) that he will henceforth pursue his altruistic activity.

It is then that the Buddha gives him the great "prediction" (vyakarana) 32) by virtue of which the Bodhisattva is "assured" (niyata) of arriving at supreme and perfect enlightenment.

The bodhisattva without recoil (avaivartika) abandons the body of flesh (māmsakāya), born because of deeds and subject to births and deaths, and puts on a body born from the element of law (dharma-dhātujakāya), an essential body endowed with various perfections of qualities" (gunasampad) 33).

The tenth earth is called Cloud of the Law (dharmamegha) because it possesses an eminent knowledge which contains all the concentrations (samādhi) as the cloud contains pure water; because it removes the passions (kleśa) and the obstacle to knowledge (jñeyāvarana) as the cloud hides space; finally, because it emits innumerable qualities (aprameyaguna) like the cloud which makes rain a clear and limpid water 34).

32) The Śūramgamasamādhisūtra (T 642, k. 2, p. 638 c-639 b) distinguishes four kinds of vyākaraṇa (cf. P. Demiéville, Le Concile de Lhasa, Paris, 1952, p. 141-142 n.). That which is conferred in the eighth ground on a Bodhisattva avaiivartika and which coincides with the obtaining of anutpattikadharmakṣānti is absolutely definitive: see Lalitavistara, p. 35, 1.21; Mahā-yānasūtrālamkara, p. 20, l. 15; 141, 1.27; 166, 1.12; Saddharmapundarika, p. 266, l. 1-2.

33) Upadesa T 1509, k. 12, p. 146 to 28; k. 28, p. 264b 4-7; k. 30, p. 283 a 29-b 3; 284 a 27; k. 34, p. 309 b 8; k. 38, p. 340 a 2; k. 74, p. 580 a 14-16.

34) *Mahāyānasamgraha*, tr. fr., p. 202-203.

The Bodhisattvas who reside in the tenth ground are equipped with the dharmas of Buddha; however they remain in the world to save sentient beings; therefore they do not enter Nirvana. Thus, like magicians, they create bodies of metamorphosis (nirmāṇa) and teach the Law to men. But they don't really have a Buddha body. They deliver beings, but with moderation, limit; while the beings delivered by the Buddha are without measure without limit. They make themselves a body of Buddha, but they do not fill the ten regions. The body of the Bodhisattva is like the moon of the fourteenth day; that of the Buddhas at the moon of the fifteenth 35).

The difference is so slight that the Prajñāpāramitā affirms: „The Bodhisattva, the great being, who is in the tenth ground must be called purely and simply a Tathāgata" 36). The

Bodhisattva of the tenth ground bears the titles of ekajāti - pratibaddha and kumārabhūta which require a brief commentary.

Ekajāti pratibaddha, in Tibetan skye ba gcig gis thogs pa, in Chinese yi-cheng-pou-tch'ou or yi-cheng-so-hi - 所繫4生, means, „linked to a single rebirth [before reaching the supreme and perfect enlightenment]". Residing in the heaven of the Tuṣita, the Bodhisattva will manifest here a last birth during which he will obtain supreme enlightenment. This is clearly explained in the Prajñāpāramitā:

There are Bodhisattvas bound to one rebirth who, exercising Perfection of Wisdom, enter by saving skill into the four ecstasies and other concentrations up to and including those [of emptiness, characterlessness] and non-taking. in consideration; but they do not undergo its influence. Having rejoiced the blessed Buddhas who presented themselves to them and practiced continence under their orders, they will be reborn in the company of the Tuṣita gods and remain there for a lifetime. Having remained there during an existence, their faculties intact, endowed with memory and wisdom, surrounded and preceded by hundreds of thousands of millions of gods, they manifest a birth here below; then, in various fields of Buddha, they arrive at the supreme and perfect illumination 37).

35) Upadesa T 1509, k. 29, p. 273b 9-16.

36) Pañcavimsatisāh., p. 217, l. 17; Śātaśah., p. 1458, l. 19: Daśamyām bodhisattvabhūmau vartamano bodhisattvo mahāsattvas tathāgata eveti vaktavyaḥ.

37) Pañcavimsatisāh., p. 62, l. 14-63, 1.5; Śātaśah., p. 270, l. 9-271, l. 3: Santi bodhisattvā mahāsattvā ekajātipratibaddha ye prajñāpāramitāyām caranta upayakauśalyena catvāri dhyānāni samāpadyante... sunyatāsamādhim samapadyante, animittasamādhim samapadyante, apranihi tasamādhim samāpadyante. na ca teṣām vaśena gacchanti sammukhībhūtā mś ca buddhan bhagavata āragayitvā tatra brahmacaryam caritvā punar eva tuṣitānām devānām sabhāgatayai upapadyante. te tatra yāvadāyus tiṣṭhanti, te tatra yāvadāyuh sthitvā ahinen-driyāḥ smṛtīmantāḥ samprajānanto anekair devakoṭīniyutaśatasahasraiḥ parivṛtāḥ puraskṛtā ihopapattim darśay itvā nānābuddhakṣetreṣv anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyante.

The epithet *kumārabhūta*, in Tibetan *gzon nur gyur pa*, is almost synonymous: in the tenth ground, the Bodhisattva receives the anointing (*abhiṣeka*) which consecrates him crown prince (*kumāra*) of the King of Law and associates him with power to which he is called to accede 38).

Finally, it is in the tenth ground that the Bodhisattva comes into possession of the *Śūramgamasamādhi*, "concentration of the heroic Walk" which he shares only with the Buddhas. Through this concentration, he dominates the field of all concentrations" 39). By the force of this concentration, he manifests at his choice, in the ten regions, birth (*jāti*), exit from the world (*abhiniṣkramaṇa*), *Nirvāṇa*, *Parinirvāṇa* or sharing of his relics (*saṁrānupradāna*): all this for the good of beings" 40).

The field of action of the great Bodhisattva is if not infinite, like that of the Buddhas, at least practically unlimited. For the understanding of what is to follow, it is

necessary to add a few details here: by the universe with four continents by a mountain of iron, the *Cakravāḍa* 4).

encircled

The Bodhisattva can manifest not only in this or that place of the Indian continent, the *Jambudvīpa*, but also in any direction of the four-continent universe. Flat surface, this universe has only two dimensions, length and

38) Much has been said about the epithet *kumārabhūta*, becoming a young man, always young, or royal prince. In the spirit of the texts, this is a completely spiritual prerogative. in the *Mañjuśrīparinirvāṇasūtra* (T 463, p. 480 c 3, etc.) the variant *Fa-wang-tseu* = *dharmakumāra*, "crown prince of the Law".

39) *Pañcavimśatisāh.*, p. 144, 1. 8: *Yena sumādhinā sarvasamādhinām gocaram anubhavaty ayam ucyate śūrangamo nama samādhiḥ.*

40) T 463, p. 480 c 18-20.

41) Cf. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Leipzig, 1920, p. 180 sq.

width. We can distinguish four main regions (dis) corresponding to corresponding to the four points of the compass and four intermediate regions diaries (vidis) inserted between the points of the compass.

To. The four main regions (dis, phyogs, fang 𑖀):

East (purvā, sar, tong).

South (dakṣiṇā, lho, nan).

West (paścima, nub, if p).

North (uttara, byan, pei).

b. The four intermediate regions (vidis, phyogs-htsham, wei 維 or yu 隅):

Northeast (uttarapūrvā, byan-śar, tong-peī).

Southeast (pūrvadakṣiṇā, śar-lho, tong-nan).

Southwest (dakṣiṇāpaścimā, lho-nub, si-nan).

Northwest (paścimottarā, nub-byan, si-peī).

2. On the margins of this restricted world, the Buddhists have built a grand cosmic system which already appears in the texts of the Small Vehicle, but gained even more importance in those of the Large 42).

This system distinguishes three kinds of complex universes: 1. The small chiliocosm (sahasracūḍiko lokadhātuḥ) comprising a thousand universes with four continents; 2. The middle chiliocosm (dvisāhasro madhyamo lokadhātuḥ) comprising a thousand universes of the preceding type; 3. The great chiliocosm or trichiliomegachiliocosm (trisahasra-mahāsāhasro lokadhātuḥ) comprising one thousand universes of the preceding type, that is one billion universes with four continents. The large chiliocosms are, equal in number to the grains of

42) Dirghāgama T 1, k. 18, p. 114 b-c; T 23, k. 1, p. 277a; T 24, k. 1, p. 310b; T 25, k. 1, p. 365c; Madhyamagama T 26, k. 59, p. 799c; Samyuktagama T 99, k. 16, p. 111c 112a; Anguttara I, p. 227; Cullaniḍḍesa, p. 135; Mahāvīyutpatti, No. 3042-3044; Lalitavistara, p. 150; Kosa III, p. 170; Panjika, p. 52; Upadesa in Treatise on the Great Virtue of Wisdom, I, Louvain, 1944, p. 447 sq.

sand of the Ganges" (gangānadīvālukopama) multiplied to infinity. They are distributed in the cosmos and, as this is three-dimensional, the universes occupy not only the four main regions (dis) and the four intermediate regions (vidis) indicated above, but also two regions additional (in Pāli, pañdisā):

Nadir (adhas or adhasāt, hog, hia).

Zenith (urdhvam or upariṣṭāt, sten, chang) 43).

Some of these universes, but not all, can constitute a "Buddha-field" (buddhakṣetra), where a Tathāgata, holy, fully and perfectly enlightened is, lives, exists and teaches the Law" (yatra tathagato ' rhan samyaksambuddhas tiṣṭhati dhriyate yapayati dharmam ca deśayati).

Thus the trisahasramahāsāhasralokadhātuḥ of which our four-continent universe is a part is the field of Buddha Śākyamuni. It is called the Sahā Universe (Sahā lokadhātuḥ) and it is located in the Southern region.

Let us add that some of these large chiliocosms are deprived of the presence of the Buddhas 44) and that certain fields of Buddha appear as multiples of large chiliocosms 45).

The Bodhisattva can reach all these universes with the speed of thought and do the work of Buddha there. This is called "purifying the fields of Buddha". But in doing so, he is not fooled.

49) When the texts have to enumerate the ten regions, they generally separate the main regions from the secondary regions. In Pali, the order followed is: 1. the four cardinal points (disā), 2. the nadir and the zenith, 3. the four intermediate points (anudisā): cf. Samyutta I, p. 122, 1. 2-3; III, p. 124, 1. 2-3; Anguttara III, p. 368, 1. 26-28; IV, p. 167, 1. 1-9. — Sanskrit adopts the following order: 1. the four cardinal points (dis), 2. the four intermediate points (vidis), 3. the nadir and the zenith (Pañcavimsatisah., p. 6, l. 11-14; T 221, pp. 1 b 12-13; T 222, pp. 147 b 25-26; T 223, pp. 217 b 18; Śatasāh., pp. 9, 1. 14-10, 1. 8; Mahāvvyut., no. 8326-8337; Sukhāvatī, § 12). It is rare for the intermediate points to be intercalated between the cardinal points (Saddharmapund., p. 184-185; 243-244).

44) Mahavastu I, p. 122, 1. 3.

45) Mahavastu I, p. 121, 1.11; Upadesa T 1509, k. 50, p. 418c; k. 92, p. 708 b.

of his game, He regards all the Buddha-fields
as essentially empty (svabhāvaśūnya), calm (śānta),
unreal (asid-dha) and space-like (ākāśasama)" 46).

The Bodhisattva purifies the Buddha-fields by
purifying one's own thought, and by the very fact
that of others, of all the impurities of body, voice
and thought. there is no one to build them and nothing
to arrange them 48).

III. Cittotpada and Sambodhi of Mañjuśrī.

The Bodhisattva is, by definition, a "being" (sattva) of
"enlightenment" (bodhi), and his career is confined between two crucial
moments: 1. The production of the thought of the enlightenment (bodhicittot-
pāda) or resolution (adhyāśaya) to become a fully and perfectly
enlightened Buddha in order to ensure the good and happiness of all
beings; 2. The arrival at the supreme and perfect enlightenment
(anuttarā samyaksambodhi) which makes him a Buddha.

Accordingly, the task of the Vaipulyasūtras devoted to the great
Bodhisattvas is to let us know when, where and before which Buddha
the Bodhisattva produces his bodhicitta and fixes by his wishes
(pranidhāna) the qualities with which he intends to adorn his future
Buddha-field (buddhakṣetra), where and when the same Bodhisattva
attains supreme and perfect enlightenment.

The Sukhāvatīvyuha informs us precisely about these two
essential moments in the "life" of the Buddha Amitabha.

It was formerly, during an incalculable, more than incalculable,
immense, immeasurable and inconceivable Kalpa, where 80 Buddhas
had succeeded each other, that appeared in the world, as 81°, the

⁴⁶⁾ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T 476, k. 3, p. 570 a 19-22.

⁴⁷⁾ *Pañcaviṃśatisāh.*, T 221, k. 19, p. 136 a 12; T 223, k. 26, p. 408 b 21; T 220, k. 476,
P. 411 c 14; *Aṣṭadaśasāh.*, T 220, k. 535, p. 749 c 20.

⁴⁹⁾ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T 476, k. 1, p. 559 at 24-28.

Buddha Lokeshvara. In the presence of this Buddha, the monk Dharmakara (the future Amitabha) produced the thought of enlightenment and, having contemplated the perfections of 81 hundreds of thousands of nayutako□i of Buddha-fields, conceived an eighty- once more perfect, and enumerated the qualities with which he intended to adorn his land, if he ever reached the supreme state of perfectly accomplished Buddha. These vows" (praṇidhāna), about fifty in number, are formulated in a negative manner; all the perfections are indicated there by their opposites, as here, for example:,,Si, in the field of Buddha who is destined for me, there must be a distinction between gods and men other than that of name, may I not attain the state of Buddha."

Conforming his conduct to these true promises (yathābhūta-pratijñāprati patti-pratisthita), Dharmakara exercised the career of bodhisattva (bodhisattvacaryā) for 100,000 nayutako□i years. After which he obtained the supreme and perfect enlightenment and became a perfectly accomplished Buddha. Currently, under the name of Amitabha,,,he is, lives, exists and preaches the Law" in the Fortunate universe (Sukhāvatī), located in the region of the West and separated from our universe by one hundred thousand nayutako□i of Buddha fields.

As may well be imagined, we are not so exactly informed about the innumerable Bodhisattvas populating the universes of the ten regions. However, with regard to Mañjuśrī, we have precise indications. They are contained in the Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetragunavyūha of which we have three

Chinese translations and a Tibetan translation:

A. Tr. ch. of Dharmarakṣa, executed in 290 (T 318, k. 2, p. 896 c-899 b).

B. Tr. ch. of Bodhiruci, executed between 706 and 713 (T 310, k. 59, P. 345 b-347 c).

C. Tr. ch. of Amoghavajra, executed in the 8th century (T 319, k. 2-3, p. 912 b-915 b).

D. Tr. tib. (OKC 760, n^o 15, vol. *Wi*, p. 315 a-325 b).

Formerly, there are of this Kalpas as numerous as the sands of 70 myriads of an incalculable number of Ganges, appeared in the world the Tathāgata named:

Lei-yin-hiang T, Meghasvaraghosa (A, p. 896 c 23).

Lei-yin, Meghāśvara (B, p. 345 b 11; C, p. 9126 15).

Hbrug sgrahi dbyans kyi rgyal po, Meghasvaraghoṣarāja (D, p. 315 b 6).

This Buddha appeared in the eastern region, in a universe separated from ours by 72 nayuta of Buddha fields. And this universe had name:

K'ouai-tch'êng, Promptly constituted (A, p. 896 c 24).

Wou-cheng, Ānutpādā (B, p. 345 b 13; C, p. 912 b 18).

Hbyun ba bzañ po, Bhadrotpādā (D, p. 315 b 8).

It is in the presence of this Buddha and in this universe that the future Mañjuśrī produced the thought of enlightenment (bodhicitta) and formulated

His wishes. But at that time Mañjuśrī was a pious king named:

Ngan-pā, Śāvior of peace (A, p. 896 c 27).

P'ou-fou, Universal coverage (B, p. 345 b 15).

Hiu-k'ong, Nam mkhaḥ, Ākāśa (C, p. 912 b 20; D, p. 316 a 1).

Mañjuśrī, bodhisattva of the tenth ground, voluntarily delays his arrival at the state of fully accomplished Buddha. It is only after an incalculable number of incalculable periods that he will attain supreme and perfect enlightenment. He will then be the buddha named Samantadarsin:

P'ou-hiēn (A, p. 899 a 22).

P'ou-kien (B, p. 347 b 27; C, D. 915 b 6).

Kun tu gzigs pa (D, p. 324 a 3).

He will be so called because he will be seen everywhere in the countless hundreds of thousands of hundreds of thousands of nayuta of buddhakṣetra" 49).

However, his own universe, located in the southern region like our Sahā universe, will be called Li-tch'en-keou-sin☆, Vimalacitta (according to A, p. 899b 11), Ts'ing-tsing-wou- keou-pao AA, Viśuddhāvimalaratna (according to the Karuṇāpūṇḍarika, T 157, k. 3, p. 188 b 2), or simply Vimāla (according to the Saddharma-puṇḍarika, p. 265, 1. 6).

Here, to support this exposition, is the translation of a passage from the Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha according to Bodhiruci's version (T 310, k. 59, p. 345 b 5-346 b 10):

Then the bodhisattva Simhavikramameghasvara said to the Buddha: mañjuśrī himself refuses to tell us since when he produced the thought of enlightenment (bodhicitta), and yet this whole great assembly would like to know.

The Buddha replied: Son of the Victorious (jina-putra), Mañjuśrī has a deep conviction (gambhirakṣānti) [concerning the birthless dharmas], and in this deep conviction there is no room for enlightenment either. tion (bodhi) nor for thought (citta); as they do not exist, Mañjuśrī does not mention them. However I will tell you from when he produced the thought of enlightenment.

Once upon a time ago Kalpas as numerous as the sands of 70 myriads of an incalculable number of Ganges, a holy and perfectly enlightened tathāgata, namely the buddha Meghasvara, appeared in the world. In the eastern region, beyond 72 nayuta of Buddha fields, there is a universe called Anutpādā: it is there that the tathāgata Meghasvara preached the law; the assembly of Auditors (śrāvaka) numbered 84 hundreds of thousands of nayuta of people, and that of the Bodhisattvas, twice as many.

At that time, there was a king named P'ou-fou (variant, Ākāśa) who possessed the seven jewels (saptaratna) and reigned over the four continents (caturdvīpaka). He was pious (dhārmika), a true king at the wheel of the Law (dharmacakrārāja). For 84,000 years, he offered in homage to the tathāgata Meghasvara and to the great assembly of Śrāvakas and Bodhisattvas gifts as varied as they were excellent: clothes (vastra), food (āhāra), palaces (prāsāda), pavilions (kūṭāgāra), servants (dāsa) and assistants (upasthāyaka). Among his family, the queens, princes and great ministers had no other occupation than to make offerings and, although the years piled up, they still felt no fatigue. One day finally, the king, who had retired to solitude (ekāki raho-gataḥ), had the following reflection: I have accumulated great roots of good (kuśalamūla), but I have not yet applied them (pariṇāma -) so

⁴⁹⁾ T 310, k. 60, p. 347 b 27-29.

precise (niyatam). Should they be applied to becoming Sakra, Mahābrahmā, king of the gods, Cakravartirāja, Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha?

While he was making these reflections, the gods from heaven said to him: Great king, do not make such petty reflections (hīna). The merits (punya) accumulated by Your Majesty are so numerous that you must produce the thought of supreme and perfect enlightenment (anuttarā samyak-sambodhi).

King Ākāśa, hearing these words, said to himself with joy: I will never fall from enlightenment. For what? Because it is by knowing my thought that the gods told me that.

Then the king, with a great assembly of 80 hundreds of thousands of nayuta people, went to the buddha Meghasvara. He nodded to the feet of the Blessed One, turned around him seven times and, to pay homage to him, he joined his hands in his direction and addressed him the following stanzas:

1. I have a question to ask the Victorious; I would like him to tell me how ment I will obtain supremacy among good men (satpurusa). 2. In front of you who are the support of the world, I have multiplied the offerings (pūjā), but without precise intention and without knowing what to apply them to.

3. After cultivating great merits, I wondered what the apply. Should one aspire to the position of the god Brahma, of Śakra or of a Cakravartin king?

4. Should one seek to become a Śrāvaka or a Pratyekabuddha?

While I was making these reflections, the gods said to me from the

height of heaven: 5., Great king, do not think of such petty applications.

„It is for all beings that great vows (mahāprani-dhāna) must be made.

6., It is

for the good of the world (lokārthāya) that thought must be produced enlightenment". This is why I now address the Blessed One, the Sovereign of the Law (dharmeśvara):

7. I would like him to tell me about the thought of enlightenment and the way to produce it. How, having produced it, could I be like you, O Muni? I beg the best of bipeds to tell me all this. Then the

Tathāgata Meghasvara said these stanzas to King Ākāśa:

1. Great King, listen carefully. I will tell you systematically (kramena) how, due to causes and conditions (hetupratyaya), all dharmas function with desire (chanda) for root (mula).

2. The fruit (phala) obtained is in conformity with the vow (pranidhāna) formula. I too once produced the thought of enlightenment. 3. I have vowed to ensure the good (hita) of all beings. According to the wish that I had formulated and according to the thought that I had produced,

4. I have obtained enlightenment without recoil (avaivartikabodhi) and my aspirations (āśaya) were quickly fulfilled (paripurna). Great king, therefore firmly exercise the practices (caryā),

5. You will obtain the full and supreme enlightenment of the Buddhas.

When King Ākāśa heard these words of the Buddha, he jumped for joy and marveled (adbhuta-prāpta); in the presence of the assembly, he uttered the roar of the lion (simhanāda) and said these stanzas: Today, in front of all beings, I apply my thought to perfect enlightenment (utpādayāmi sambodhau cittam).

1. From the beginning to the end of the infinite transmigration, I will follow an endless career.

2., „Let us produce the thought of perfect enlightenment in the presence of our Protector": this is how I invite the whole world, and I will save it from poverty.

3. If, starting today, I still produce a thought of desire (kāmacitta), I would deceive all the Buddhas established in the ten regions.

4. From today until the moment I gain enlightenment, I will no longer have any thoughts of malice, vanity, jealousy or of avarice.

5. I will practice continence and let go of bad desires. I will imitate the Buddhas in their discipline and control of the senses.

6. I am in no rush to achieve enlightenment and I will stay here until the end, as long as there is still a being to be saved.

7. I will purify an immense, inconceivable field, and I will make my illustrious name in the ten

regions. 8. Today I predict to myself that I will surely become a Buddha. My resolution (adhyasaya) is pure (viśuddha): there is no doubt (samsaya).

9. I will in every way purify the acts of body and voice; I will purify mental acts and commit no impure act 50).

10. If truly I must become a Buddha, venerable among all men, that because of this truth the earth trembles in six ways. 11.

If I speak the truth (satya) and there is no error (bhrānta) in me, that because of this truth, the musics (turya) play from the top of the sky.

12. If I am without hypocrisy (śāṭhya) or thoughts of hatred (khilacitta), that because of this truth a rain of mandāra flowers falls.

When King Akaśa said these stanzas, it happened that because of his sincerity the 100,000 fields of the ten regions trembled in six ways, music played in the sky and mandara flowers fell like rain. Twenty hundreds of thousands of beings, following the king, experienced a great

50) The Śikṣāsamuccaya, ed. C. Bendall, p. 13, l. 18—14, l. 12, cites the original wording of these first nine stanzas, except for the third and the eighth which I supplement with the Tibetan.

1. yāvati prathamā koṭīḥ samsārasyāntavarjitā,
tāvat satvahitārthaya carīṣyamy amitam carim.

2. utpādayāma sambodhau cittam [jagan]-nāthasya sammukham,
nimantraye jagat sarvam daridryān mocitāsmi tat.

3. from rin phan chad gal to yan
bdag gis hdod chags sems bskyed na
phyogs bcu dag na gan bźugs pahi
sans rgyas thams cad bslus bar hgyur.

4. vyāpādakhilacittam vā irṣyāmātsaryam eva vā,
adyāgre na kariṣyami bodhim prāpsyāmi yāvatā.

5. brahmācāryam carīṣyāmi kāmāms tyakṣyāmi pāpakān,
buddhānām anusikṣiṣye silasamvarasamyame.

6. nāham tvaritarupeṇa bodhim prāptum ihotsahe,
parantakoṭim sthāṣyāmi satvasyaikasya kāraṇāt

7. kṣetram viśodhayiṣyāmi aprameyam acintiyam,
nāmadheyam kariṣyāmi daśa dikṣu ca viśrutam.

8. bdag gis bdag la mon bstan te
without rgyas hgyur bar dogs pa
med bdag gi lha bsam ruam by dag
bdag dbaṅ ḥdi na ḥdren pa mams.

9. kayavakkarmani caham sodhayiṣyami sarvaśaḥ,
sodhayiṣye manaskarma karma karttāsmi nāśubham.

joy and congratulated themselves by saying: „We too will obtain the supreme enlightenment”, and like the king they produced the thought of enlightenment. Then the Buddha declared to the great assembly: This king Akāśa was no other than the current bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. There are Kalpas as numerous as the sands of 70 myriads of an incalculable number of Ganges that he, for the first time, produced the thought of enlightenment (cittotpada). has Kalpas as numerous as the sands of 64 Ganges that he gained the belief in the birthless dharmas (anutpattikadharmakṣānti) Finally, he conquered the tenth ground (bhūmi) of the Bodhisattvas and the ten forces (bala) of the Tathāgata But, although all the qualities of the land of the Buddhas were accomplished (paripūrṇa) in him, Mañjuśrī did not dream for a moment of becoming a [perfectly accomplished] Buddha on the spot.

Then, when these twenty hundreds of thousands of beings, following the king, had produced, in the presence of Buddha Meghasvara, the thought of enlightenment, the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī invited them to enter into the virtues of giving (dāna), morality (śīla), patience (kṣanti), energy (vīrya), ecstasy (dhyāna) and wisdom (prajñā). Immediately they all obtained the supreme and perfect enlightenment; they turned the wheel of the Law and, having completed their work of Buddha, they entered complete Nirvāṇa. As for Mañjuśrī, he served all these Tathāgata and protected the Law of all these Buddhas. [Among all these Buddhas, only one still

exists now]. There is a Buddha named Ti-tch'e-chan†, Bhūmidhara-parvata (variants: Ti-t'ien, Saḥi Iha Bhumideva). It lies nadir beyond universes as numerous as the sands of 40 Ganges. The universe of this Buddha is called Ti-tch'e, Bhūmidhara (variants:

地 Ti = Bhūmi; Ti-ti, "Earth Base"; Saḥi dbyans = Bhūmisvara);

it contains an immense assembly of Śravaka. This Buddha, whose duration of life is unlimited, still exists now.

IV. The characteristic features of Mañjuśrī.

In absolute truth (paramārthasatya), the Bodhisattvas do not deviate from the way of being (tathatā) of things and merge into the same absence of proper nature (niḥsvabhāvatā). In relative truth (samvṛtisatya), there are infinite varieties between them, as appears from a section of the Prajñāpāramitā devoted to the various classes of Bodhisattva 5').

The principle of classification is the duration of the career of the Bodhisattva, the more or less long time which elapses between the first production of bodhicitta and the arrival at anuttarasamyaksambodhi. A first category will arrive slowly, a second faster

51) Pañcavimsatisah., p. 60-72; Satasah., p. 266-290,

and a third right now. Likewise, for a long journey, those who depart on a vehicle drawn by sheep, on a vehicle drawn by horses, or who depart by magic power 52).

Two limiting cases are considered. There are Bodhisattvas who, from let them produce the thought of Bodhi, obtain supreme Bodhi. After turning the Wheel of Law and saving innumerable sentient beings, they enter complete Nirvana (nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa). After their Parinirvana, their Law will subsist for a Kalpa or more 53). These Bodhisattvas have a great distaste for existence; in bygone ages they have loved reality and hated error; they are of acute faculties and of firm thought; they have long accumulated merit and knowledge 54). Hence their haste to leapfrog the career of the Bodhisattva and to enter definitive Nirvāṇa as soon as possible.

The other borderline case is that of the Bodhisattvas who, driven by great benevolence and great compassion, intend to devote themselves as long as possible to the good and happiness of all beings. Mañjuśrī is one of them. From the beginning of the transmigration he, in the person of King Ākāśa, produced the thought of Bodhi and formulated, before the Buddha Meghasvara, the vow to remain in transmigration as long as there would remain only one being in convert. He has devoted innumerable Kalpas to passing the stages of the Bodhisattva's career, to ascending from the first earth to the eighth which made him a Bodhisattva without recoil (avaivartika), from the eighth to the tenth which made him a Bodhisattva separated from the state

5) Niyataniyatagatimudrāvatāra T 645, p. 699 c 10-11; T 646, p. 706b 20-21; Upadesa T 1509, k. 38, p. 342 c 3-6.

58) Pañcavimsatisāh., p. 66, l. 4-7; Śatasah., p. 192, l. 10-14: Santi bodhisattvā mahāsattvā ye prathamacittotpādenaivānuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyante dharmacakram pravartayanty aprameyāṇām asamkhyeyāṇām sattvāṇām cārtham kṛtvā nirupadhisese nirvāṇad hātau parinirvānti teṣām parinirvṛtānām kalpam vā kalpāvaśeṣam vā saddharmas tisthāti.

54) Upadesa T 1509, k. 38, p. 342 c 21-24.

of Buddha by one existence only (ekajātipratibaddha), a crown prince (kumārabhūta) associated with royal power. Bodhisattva of the tenth ground, he indefinitely delays his accession to supreme and perfect enlightenment.

There comes a time in fact when the fully and perfectly enlightened Buddha, judging his Law well preached and his Community well established, rejects the vital forces" (ayuhṣamskāraṇ utsrjati) and enters Nirvana with no remaining conditioning (nirupadhi- seṣanirvana) 55) From then on, neither the gods nor the men see it any more 56). Just as the flame reached by the breath of the wind goes towards appeasement, escapes the gaze, so the Sage stripping the psycho-aggregates of existence, enters into calm, escaping all gazes. No one can measure him; to speak of him there are no words; what the mind could conceive vanishes and all paths are forbidden to language 57).

Inspired by great pity, Mañjuśrī turns away from Nirvāṇa in order to pursue his saving work. He remains "always young" in possession of all his means. These are considerable because, in his quality of Bodhisattva of the tenth ground, he enjoys the "perfection of the qualities of Buddha" (buddhagunasampad).

Throughout samsara, he manifests in India, in the universe to four continents and in the large chiliocosms distributed à endlessly in the ten regions. It is there that the Bodhisattva, endowed with inconceivable psychic powers (acintyavimokṣa), manifests himself under the various appearances of a Buddha, a Pratyekabuddha, a Śravaka, a Bodhisattva adorned with marks, a Brahmā, of a Śakra devendra, of a Caturmahārājika deva, of a Cakravartin king: in short, of any being⁵⁸ 58).

55) Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, ed. E. Waldschmidt, p. 210-212.

56) Digha I, p. 46: Kayassa bheda uddham jivita pariyādānā na dakkhinti devamanussā.

57) Suttanipāta, c. 1074 sq.

58) Vimalakīrtimrdeśa T 476, k. 3, p. 571 c 20-25.

It is quite natural for a Bodhisattva to manifest in the form of a Bodhisattva or any other being of a lower category than the Bodhisattva. It is more curious that he can take on the appearances of an accomplished Buddha. And yet the texts are formal in this regard:

The Bodhisattva established in the ten lands, entering the concentration of the heroic March (*śūramgamasamādhi*), manifests in trichiliomega-chiliocosm the first production of the thought of Bodhi (*prathamacittotpada*), or the practice of the six virtues (*ṣaṭpāramitācarya*), or the stage of the Bodhisattva without retreat (*avaivartika*), or the stage of the Bodhisattva separated from the state of Buddha by a single rebirth (*ekajātipratibaddha*), or the ascent to heaven of the Tuṣita where he preaches the Law to the gods, or the descent from heaven of the Tusita and the birth in the palace of Suddhodana, or the exit from the world (*abhinīṣ-kramana*) and the accession to the state of Buddha, or the movement of the wheel of the Law (*dharmacakrapravartana*) in the midst of the great assembly, or the entrance into Nirvāṇa and the erection of the Stupa of the Seven Jewels extending into the lands for beings to worship the relics, or finally the time when the Law is completely extinguished 59),

The Bodhisattva draws this power from the *Śūramgamasamādhi*, a concentration reserved for the tenth ground 60), and which presents a hundred characteristics, the hundredth and last of which consists in, 'entering the Great Nirvāṇa, but without being definitively extinguished' 61) .

Consider, said the Buddha to Kaśyapa, the power of the *Śūramgamasamādhi*. By his strength, the great Bodhisattvas manifest entry into the womb (*garbhāvakrānti*), birth (*janman*), exit from the world (*abhinīṣkramana*), walking to the tree of enlightenment (*bodhivṛkṣagamana*), installation on the throne of enlightenment (*bodhimandāniṣadana*), the motion of the wheel of law (*dharmacakrapravartana*), entry into complete Nirvana (*parinirvāṇapraveśa*) and the sharing of relics (*saṁrāṇupradāna*): however they do not abandon their quality of Bodhisattva and they do not die out definitively (*atyantam*) in the Parinirvāṇa 62).

It is thus that, until the end of time, Mañjuśrī will manifest itself in the most diverse forms, up to and including that of the fully and perfectly enlightened Buddha or of the parinirvāṇe Buddha. However, he will not lose his Bodhisattva quality. Finally, when there is no longer any being left to convert, he will reach, for

59) Upadesa T 1509, k. 30, p. 278 a 10-17

60) Suramgamamasamadhi T 642, k. 1, p. 631 at 19-21.

61) Ibid., k. 1, p. 631 c 25-26.

62) Ibid., k. 2, p. 644 at 21-24.

for good this time, the supreme and perfect illumination. It will then be the tathāgata Samantadarsin and will occupy, in the southern region, the Vimala universe.

It seems that the old theoreticians of Buddhism have still detected in Mañjuśrī a particular trait, without great importance, but which is not lacking in interest. Certain Bodhisattvas, Samantabhadra for example, are overflowing with activity: they simultaneously cause innumerable fields of Buddha to appear and play the most diverse roles in them. They have no fixed residence. Less rushed, more methodical, Mañjuśrī series his manifestations and only appear in one place at a time. It is therefore open to anyone with the divine eye to follow its history and to count its successive residences. Thus the author of the Suramgamasamādhisūtra believes he can affirm that Mañjuśrī entered Nirvāṇa through the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, during 360 myriads of generations 63).

The Upadesa will not be blamed for arriving in its calculations at a different number:

Bodhisattva Samantabhadra ordinarily causes the universes of Buddha, the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas that fill the ten regions, to appear in each of the pores of his skin. As he transforms beings, he has no fixed residence. But Mañjuśrī, him, series his own metamorphoses (nirmana) to enter the five destinies (gati): sometimes he is Śravaka, sometimes Pratyekabuddha and sometimes Buddha. Thus it is said in the Suramgasa-mādhisūtra that Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was in past generations the Buddha Nāgavamśāgra, and that for 72 myriad generations he was a Pratyekabuddha. Such metamorphoses are likely to be mentioned and stipulated. As for Samantabhadra, he escapes calculation and mention: his residences (sthāna) are unknowable. If it resides somewhere, it is in all the universes without distinction 64).

We will limit ourselves here to noting, on the testimony of the texts, some appearances of Mañjuśrī in the great cosmic spheres of the ten regions where he sometimes manifests himself as Bodhisattva of the present,

63) Ibid. k. 2, p. 642 b 1-2,

64) Upadesa T 1509, k. 10, p. 134b 15-22.

sometimes as Buddha of the present or of the past. Next, the various places in India, Central Asia and the Far East where his devotees believe they have encountered him will be reviewed.

V. Mañjuśrī in the cosmic spheres.

1. Mañjuśrī, bodhisattva of the present.

I. In the introduction to the Pañcaviṃśati- and the Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Śākyamuni transforms the Sahā universe into a jewel:

One would have said the Padmavati universe, Buddha field of the tathāgata Samantakusuma, where bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, bodhisattva Susthitamati resides and other very powerful Bodhisattvas 65).

2. The Samvrttiparamārthasatyanirdeśa mentions Mañjuśrī in a passage which is preserved for us in three Chinese translations and a Tibetan translation:

A. Tr. ch. of Dharmarakṣa, executed in 289 (T 460, p. 448 b 7-10).

B. Tr. ch. of Kumārajīva who lived from 344 à 409 (T 1489, p. 1075 14-17).

C. Tr. ch. of Fāi hai of the Song between 960 and 1279 (T 1490, p. 1081 a 23-24).

D. Tr. tib. of Śākyaprabha, Jinamitra, Dharmatāśīla, etc.
(OKC 846, p. 255 b 4-6):

When, from here, one crosses in an easterly direction ten thousand fields from Buddha there is a universe named Ratnavati:

Pao-che (A); pao-tchou | (B); pao-tchou | (VS);

Rin po che dañ ldan pa (D).

This is where the Tathāgata, arhat and samyaksambuddha called Ratnaketu:

Pao-ying (A); pao siang | (B and C);

Rin po cheñi tog (D),

is present (tiṣṭhati), lives (dhriyate) and exists (yāpayati). This is also where Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta is currently located.

3. In the two Chinese versions of the Avatamsaka performed

65) Pañcaviṃśatisāh., p. 17, l. 18; Śatasāh., p. 55, l. 13.

respectively by Buddhābhaddra between 418 and 420, and by Śik-
 śānanda between 695 and 699, the Buddha states:

In the direction of the east, beyond the universes as numerous as the dusts
 (rajas) of ten fields of Buddha, there is a universe called Kin- 金色
 sō (Suvarṇavarna), and its buddha has the name Pou-tong-
 tche (Acala-jñāna). Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, with Bodhisattvas as numerous
 as the dust of ten Buddha fields, went to this Buddha. After paying
 homage to him and saluting his feet by touching them with his head, he
 created by metamorphosis, in this eastern region, a lotus throne
 (padmasimhāsana) and sat on it with his legs crossed 6).

3. In the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, including a Chinese translation
 was performed by T'ien-si-tsai between 980 and 1000, the Buddha states:

Towards the northeast, beyond universes as numerous as the sands
 of a hundred thousand Ganges, there is a K'ai-houa (Samkuṣūmitā)
 universe, and its buddha is called K'ai-houa-wang
 jou -lai* (Samkusumitarājendratathāgata). It has a crown prince named
 Mañjuśrī 67).

2. Mañjuśrī, buddha of the present.

The long recension of the Angulimāliyasūtra is known to us
 by a Chinese version (T 120) executed between 436 and 443 by
 Guṇabhadra, a monk from Central India, and a Tibetan translation
 (OKC 879) due to the collaboration of Śākyaprabha ,
 Dharmatāśīla and Ton-a-ca-la.

Then the Buddha said to King Prasenajit: In the northern region, beyond
 universes as numerous as the sands of 42 Ganges, there is a universe
 named Ch'ang-hi (Nityapramuditā). The buddha named Houan-hi-
 tsang-mo-ni-pao-tsi (Prāmuditāgarbhamāni-
 ratnakūṭa), tathāgata, holy and perfectly enlightened, is currently preaching and
 converting there. This universe has neither Srāvaka nor Pratyekabuddha. Only
 one Large Vehicle is used there. The names of the other Vehicles are unknown
 there, as well as the words old age (jara), illness (vyadhi) and pain (duḥkha). He
 is all pleasure (sukha); the duration of life (āyus) is unlimited there; there reigns
 an immense (apramāṇa) and unparalleled (anupama) radiance (tejas). This
 is why this universe is called Nityapramuditā "Always joyful". As for his

⁶⁶) T 278, k.4, p. 418 b 19-23; T 279, k. 12, p. 58 a 19-23.

⁶⁷) T 1191, k. 1, p. 835 a 22-24.

Buddha, O king, you must honor him joyfully and with folded hands. This Buddha is none other than Mañjuśrī. Beings who honor and revere Angulimāliya and Mañjuśrī or who hear the names of these two men see the Nityapramuditā universe as their home. Those who hear their names forever close the door to the four evil destinies (durgati). Even if they were mockers, quarrelsome, ambitious, interested or heretical, if they were guilty of the pārājika or the five ānantarya sins, they will still close the door to the four evil destinies. The sons and daughters of the family, protected by these two names, both in the present existence and in future existences, remain sheltered in the middle of the desert (kāntāra), dangers and fears (bhaya): everywhere, fears vanish. The Devas, Nāga, Yakṣa, Gandharva, Asura, Garuda, Kimnara, Mahoraga and Piśāca cannot reach them 68).

3. Mañjuśrī, buddha of the past and parinirvāṇa.

1. In Old Śūramgamasamādhisūtra (T 642; OKC 800),

we find this famous dialogue concerning the provisional Parinirvāṇa from Mañjuśrī:

Kāśyapa said to the Buddha: According to me, O Bhagavat, Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta, in times past, has already done the work of Buddha: he sat on the bodhimanda, he turned the wheel of the Law, he taught beings and he entered the great Nirvana.

The Buddha replied: That is correct, it is as you say, O Kasyapa. In the past, there are countless, infinite and inconceivable incalculable periods (asamkhyeyakalpa) - there was a ^{buddha} named Long-

tchong-chang (Kluḥi rīgs mchōg Nāgavamsāgra). If,

starting from here in a southerly direction, one crosses a thousand fields of

Buddha, one finds a universe called P'īng-tēng (Mñam pa ^{land}

It has = neither mountains (parvata), nor rivers (nadi), nor pebbles (sarkara), nor stones (pāṣāṇa), nor clods of earth (lo□□a), nor mounds. Its soil is smooth like the palm of the hand (karatala), and its herbs are tender (myḍu) like the kacalindika cloth. In this universe, Buddha Nagavamsagra has obtained supreme and perfect enlightenment; he turned the wheel of the Law and converted a crowd of 70,000,000 Bodhisattvas. Eighty hundred thousand beings became arhats and 96,000 beings adhered to the law of cause and effect of the Pratyekabuddhas. In the long run, he had a huge community of disciples (śrāvakasamgha). Nāgavamsāgra Buddha had a lifespan of 440 myriads of years. After saving gods and men, he entered Nirvāṇa. His relics (sarīra) spread everywhere, and the beings raised in his honor 36 hundreds of thousands of stupas. After the Parinirvana of this Buddha, his Law endured for ten myriads of years. M

When the buddha Nagavamsāgra was about to enter Nirvana, he gave

the prediction (vyākaraṇa) to the bodhisattva Che-ming (Ye ses ḥod

- Jñānaprabha) and said to him: „After me, you will obtain the supreme and perfect enlightenment and you will be called Jñānaprabha."

智明

⁶⁸) T 120, k. 4, p. 543 b 10; OKC 879, p. 212 a 8-213 a 2.

Could there be after that, O Kāśyapa, some uncertainty (kāṅkṣā), some perplexity (vimati) or some doubt (vicikitsā)? You must not imagine that, at that time and at that time, the Nagavamśāgra buddha of the Samā universe was other [than Mañjuśrī]. For what? Because it was Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta 9).

Let us add that the Indian and Chinese texts have frequent allusions to the Buddha Nagavamśāgra 70).

2. To my knowledge, the voluminous Bodhisattvakeyūrasūtra exists only in Chinese translation (T 656). It was executed during the second half of the 4th century by Tchou Fo-nien, a native of Leang-tcheou, in the frontier regions where his family had resided for generations. Tchou Fo-nien, who worked at Tch'ang-ngan from 365 until his death, was a linguist of the first rank, experienced in Sanskrit and the languages of Central Asia. It is considered as the forerunner of Kumarajiva.

In the sutra in question, we read the following passage:

Once, countless untold times ago, there was a Buddha named Ta-chen (Mahākāya). His field was called K'ong-isi (Sūnyā). It was there that he attained supreme and perfect enlightenment and preached to the quadruple assembly the four holy truths of the Good Law. He converted beings and brought them to nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu and extinction (nirodha)... Could there be any uncertainty left to you after that? You must not imagine that, at that time and at that time, the tathāgata Mahākāya who preached the pure Law, without figure and invisible, was any other [than Mañjuśrī]. For what ? Because the tathāgata Mahākāya was indeed Mañjuśrī here present "1).

It is necessary to limit oneself to recording these testimonies, but it will be noted that the appearances of Mañjuśrī are in no way linked to a determined direction. The universes where it manifests are located sometimes in the east (Anutpādā, Padmāvati, Ratnāvati, Suvarṇavarṇā), sometimes in the south (Samā, Vimalā), quite in the north (Nityapramuditā) and sometimes in the northeast (Samkusumitā).

⁶⁹⁾ T 642, k. 2, p. 644 a 1-20; OKC 800, p. 333 a 4-334 a 5.

⁷⁰⁾ *Sin ti kouang king*, T 159, k. 3, p. 304 b 10; *Upadeśa* T 1509, k. 10, p. 134 b 19; k. 29, p. 273 b c; *Kou ts'ing leang tchouan* T 2098, k. 1, p. 1093 a 21.

⁷¹⁾ *P'ou sa yin lo king*, T 656, k. 4, p. 38 c-39 b.

VI. Mañjuśrī in India.

1. Mañjuśrī in Kosala, the Himalayas and the Gandhamadana.

One of the most interesting texts concerning the present subject is the Mañjuśrīparinirvāṇasūtra translated into Chinese, at the end of the third century, by Nie Tāo-tchên who was, as we have seen, the collaborator and the continuator of Dharmarakṣa.

The title Wen chou che li pan nie p'an king (T 463) is confusing. This is not the definitive Nirvāṇa that Mañjuśrī will only take at the end of time, but one of those provisional Nirvāṇa that, by salvific artifice, Mañjuśrī manifests during the concentration of the heroic March. It would be more accurate to entitle this text Mañjuśrī-suramgamasamadhi..

He cuts out, in the adventures of Mañjuśrī, a period of 450 years and recounts four different incidents.

At the time of Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī was born in Kosala, in a family of Brahmans, in the village of To-lo. The information is confirmed by the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra Mahayanist (T 374, k. 3, p. 379 b 27; T 375, k. 3, p. 619 b 5), which indicates in the assembly, the presence of a Bodhisattva mahāsattva who was originally a man from the village of To-lo". To-lo does not represent Sanskrit Tara: it is an apocopic transcription for Uttara. Śrāvastī, among the Koliya, a neighboring tribe and rival of the Śākya. The Buddha had a conversation there with the mayor Paṇḍaliya (Samyutta IV, p. 340 sq.) and there explained, at least in part, the summary Method of the mysteries of the Dhyāna (T 613, k. 2, p. 258 b 25-26). The Madhyamagama translates Uttara-nigama as Pei-ts'ouen „Village du Nord" (T 26, k. 4, p. 445 a 28); the Fa kiu p'i yu king which places it east of Śrāvastī, transcribed by Yu-to-lo-po-t'i

北村

瞿多羅波提, Uttarāvatī (T 211, k. 2, p. 591 c 18).

Wanting to embrace religious life, Mañjuśrī addressed himself first of all to Brahmins and teachers. Their instructions not satisfying him, he went to find Śākyamuni and entered the Buddhist order. However, as a bodhisattva of the tenth ground, he remains mostly in the concentration of the Heroic March.

Four hundred and fifty years after Śākyamuni's Nirvāṇa, he goes to Mount Siue chan Snow Mountain". These two characters commonly translate the Sanskrit Himavat, Himavata or Himavanta designating the current Himālaya 72). Mañjuśrī converted 500 hermits there (rsi) to the Law of the Great Vehicle and makes them accede to the state of Bodhisattva, without recoil" (8 earth). With their help, he makes a miraculous statue of a bhikṣu and, with it, returns to his native land, probably Kosala.

Mañjuśrī then retreats into the jungle and, seated under a nyagrodha tree, enters the concentration of the Heroic March. The text does not expressly say that he takes Nirvāṇa, but the context allows one to assume so. It is obviously a fictitious Nirvāṇa, a simple salvific artifice, which does not prevent the great Bodhisattva from pursuing his beneficent action. He also leaves to replace it his miraculous statue, capable of performing the same wonders as him.

After his death, eight great deities collect Mañjuśrī and the lay on the diamond summit (vajraśikhā) of Mount Hiang chan, "Mount of Perfumes" where countless Deva, Nāga and Yakṣa will always come to honor him.

Mount Hiang (variants: Hiang-tsouei; Hīāṅ-tsi

72) For an Indian the "Mont des neiges" is indeed the Himalayas; for a Chinese the Siue chan is not localized with the same precision. Cf. P. Demiéville, *Le Concile de Lhasa*, Paris, 1952, p. 298, n. 2.

香積) is the Gandhamādana, the mountain which intoxicates with its perfumes" (gandhena madakaro pabbato), mythical mount located somewhere in the Himalayas and extremely famous in Indian legend in general and Buddhist in particular 73). We read in the Cosmological Sūtra from Dirghāgama:

On the right flank of the Himavat, there is a city named Vaisālī. To the north of this city, there are the seven Kālaparvata. To the north of the seven Kālaparvata, there is Mount Gandhamadana. On this mountain there are always sounds of songs and music. This mount has two caves (guhā), the first named Tcheou Jour", and the second Chan-tchèou, Good day". Made of the seven precious jewels, they give off sweet perfumes like the clothes of the gods. Miao-yin (Mañjughoṣa), the king of the Gandharvas, surrounded by five hundred Gandharvas, lives there. To the north of the two caves, there is the king of trees Sala (Vatica robusta) named Supratisthita... At the foot of Supratisthita, the king of trees, there is the nagarāja also named Supratisthita... At the north of the king of trees Supratisthita, there is the great Lake Mandākinī, fifty yojana deep and . Its water wide.. is cool (ts'ing-leang, ṣīṭa) and undefiled 7).

Pāli sources and in particular the Commentary on the Suttanipāṭa (I, p. 66-67) give fairly similar information: The Nandamūlaka flank of Gandhamadana contains three caves inhabited by pratyekabuddha: Suvanna-, Mani- and Rājata-guhā. At the entrance to the Maniguha is the mythical tree named Mañjusaka.

In any event, the Gandhamādana was frequented by the Ṛṣi and the Pratyekabuddhas and served as the residence of the king of the Gandharva Mañjughoṣa, also called Pañcaśikha, with whom the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī had a close relationship, as we saw in beginning of this article. The Gandhamadana was well suited to serve as a temporary burial place for Mañjuśrī.

**) On Gandhamādana, see G. P. Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, I, London, 1937, pp. 746-748; C. Akanuma, Dictionary of Proper Names of Indian Buddhism, Nagoya, 1931, p. 194b-195a.

74) T1, k. 30, p. 117 a. See also Ta leou t'an king, T 23, k. 1, p. 279a; K'i che king T 24, k. 1, p. 313 a-b; K'i che yin pen king T 25, k. 1, p. 368b; Ekottara T 125, k. 34, p. 736 a.

There is more: the epithet of pañcasikha applied to the king of the Gandharvas and that of pañcacāra attributed to Mañjuśrī derive perhaps from the configuration of the great Himalayan range where they were venerated. This chain was crowned by five peaks (pañcasikhā or pañcaśīrṣa) surrounding the famous lake of Anavatapta, the lake which never thaws" 75). We read in the Udāna Commentary (p. 300):

Lake Anavatapta is surrounded by five mountain peaks (pabbatakūṭa) called Sudarsana, Citra, Kala, Gandhamadana and Kailasa respectively. The Sudarśana is golden; its height is three hundred yojana and it ends in a crow's beak. The Citra is made of the seven jewels. The Kāla is made of antimony (añjana). The Gandhamadana is in sānu (?); inside it has the color of the bean (mugga); it abounds in ten kinds of fragrances: fragrances of roots, sapwood, soft wood, bark, buds, sap, flowers, fruits of leaves and fragrances; it is covered with all kinds of plants, and it shines like a hot coal during the full moon. The Kailasa is silver. All these peaks, equal in height and shape to the Sudarsana, stand above the lake.

Whatever our skepticism with regard to mythological exegesis, we are forced to note the close relationship which unites Mañjuśrī to the Mountain of Five Peaks, whether the bodhisattva gives it its name or derives its name from it. his title of pañcaśikha. Aut ex re nomen, aut ex vocabulo fabula!

Anyway, as it spreads in Central Asia, in Tibet, in the Far East, the cult of Mañjuśrī will invariably be located on a mountain range with five peaks, surrounding a lake. This is a real constant.

These few indications were essential to interpret the Mañjuśrīparinirvāṇasūtra (T 463), of which here is the complete translation:

Here is what I heard. Once the Blessed One stood at Śrāvastī, at the Jetavana, in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada, with a great troop of

75) On Lake Anavatapta, where the four great rivers Ganges, Indus, Oxus and Tarim originated, see Malalasekera, o.c., I, p. 96-99; Akanuma, p. 45; Treaty of the Great Virtue of Wisdom, Louvain, 1944, p. 385, 450; M. Hofinger, The Congress of Lake Anavatapta, Louvain, 1954, p. 177-180 n.

bhikṣu, eight thousand bhikṣu having in mind the venerable Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Mahākātyāyana, etc. There were also the Bodhisattva mahāsattva forming the group of sixteen Honest men (soḍaśa satpuruṣa), the thousand Bodhisattvas of the Good period (bhadrakalpa) preceded by Maitreya, and twelve hundred Bodhisattvas from foreign cosmic spheres, preceded by Avalokitesvara. Then the Blessed One, during the last watch of the night (paścime yame), entered into the concentration known as the Concentration of all shards (sarvālokaśamādhi). Immediately his body emitted a golden luster (suvarṇavarṇāloka) which filled the entire Jetavana and gave it a golden tint. As it crept in, the shard went to illuminate Mañju's dwelling and transformed it into seven floors of gold (suvarṇakūṭāgāra). On each of these floors, there were five hundred fictitious Buddhas (nirmāṇabuddha), coming and going on the floors.

Then, in front of the house of Mañjuśrī, appeared spontaneously and by metamorphosis (nirmāṇa) five hundred lotuses made of the seven jewels (saptaratnamayāni padmāni): they were round like the wheel of a chariot, their stems were of silver (rajata), their corollas of sapphire (musāragalva) and emerald (aśmagarbha), and their stamens of pearls (muktika) of various colors. The brilliance of these flowers went to illuminate the vihāra of the Buddha; then, leaving the vihāra, returned to the abode of Mañjuśrī.

Then there was in the assembly a Bodhisattva mahāsattva named Bhādrapala. On the appearance of this good omen, Bhādrapala left his dwelling to go to the vihāra of the Buddha. Arrived at Ananda's cell, he said to the latter: Ananda you must know that this very night the Bhagava manifested the signs of his miraculous power (rddhinimitta) and that, for the good of beings (sattvahitaya), he go preach the Good Law. So ring the bell (ghanṭhā).

Ananda replied: Holy man (satpuruṣa), the Blessed One is, for the moment, in deep concentration (gambhīrasamādhi); he gave me no orders. Why convene the assembly?

When Ananda said these words, Śāriputra went to him and he said: Disciple, this is the proper time to call the congregation together!

Then Ananda entered the Buddha's vihāra and saluted the Buddha. He had not yet raised his head when, in the sky (antarīkṣa), a voice said: Gather the congregation quickly!

Hearing this voice, Ananda had great joy, rang the bell and called the assembly together. The sound of the bell spread in the country of Śrāvastī and reached the sphere of the Peak of existence (bhavāgra). Sakra, Brahmā, the four great Lokapāla kings and innumerable Devaputras, with flowers and heavenly perfumes, went to the Jetavana. Then

the Blessed One came out of concentration and smiled (smitam akarot).

A flash of five colors issued from the mouth of the Buddha and, at the same time, the vihāra of the Jetavana was transformed into beryl (vaiḍurya).

Then Mañjuśrī dharmakumāra entered the vihāra of the Buddha to greet the latter. On each of his knees appeared five lotuses. And when he put his fingers and palms together, out of his ten fingers and palms sprang ten thousand gold-colored lotuses. He threw them at the Buddha, and they turned into a large umbrella (mahācchattra), made of the seven jewels (saptaratnamaya) and decorated with flags and banners (dhvajapatākā). The innumerable Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the ten regions appeared in the center of the parasol and, after having circled the Buddha three times (buddham triḥpradakṣinikṛtya), they stood aside. Then

Bhādrapala having risen from his seat (utthāyāsanāt), throwing back on one shoulder his upper garment (ekāmsam uttarāsaṅgam kṛtvā), placing the right knee on the ground (dakṣiṇam jānumandalam prthivyam pratiṣṭhāpya),

holding hands clasped out of respect towards the Buddha (yena bhagavāms tenāñ-jalim praṇamya), addressed the latter: Blessed, this Mañjuśrī dharma-kumāra has already served hundreds of thousands of Buddhas, and here he is, in the Sahā lokadhātu, who does the work of Buddha and manifests his miraculous power (prātihāryaiśvarya) in the ten regions. After how many Kalpas will he enter Parinirvāṇa?

The Buddha said to Bhadrāpala: This Mañjuśrī has great benevolence (maitri) and great compassion (karuṇā). He was born in this country, in the village of Uttara, in the house of the brahman Brahmadatta. At the time of his birth, his room turned into a lotus. He came out of his mother's right flank. His body was the color of purple gold. As soon as he dismounted, he could speak. He was like a royal prince (kumāra). A parasol made of the Seven Jewels protected his head. He went to the hermits (ṛṣi) in search of a rule of religious life (pravrajitadharma), but neither the ninety-five kinds of brahmins nor the teachers (upadeśācārya) could give him the answer. It was only with me that he came out of the world and exercised the way. It resides in the concentration of the heroic March (śūramgamasamādhī) and, by the force of this concentration, it manifests at choice, in the ten regions, birth (jāti), exit from the world (abhinīṣkramana), Nirvāṇa, Parinirvāṇa or sharing of its relics (śārī-rānupradana): all for the benefit of sentient beings. This holy man remains for a long time in the heroic March.

Four hundred and fifty years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, he will go to Mount Himavat where he will preach to five hundred hermits (ṣi) and proclaim the Sūtras of twelve species (dvādaśāṅgasūtra). He will convert and "mature" these five hundred hermits and make them become bodhisattvas without recoil (avaivartika). , in a wild swamp, seated under a banyan tree (nyagrodha), with his legs crossed (paryankam ābhujya), he enters the concentration of the Heroic March, and, by the force of this concentration, all the pores of his skin (romakupa) emit a golden brilliance. This brilliance will illuminate, in the universes of the ten regions, the beings capable of being converted (vaineayasattva). The five hundred hermits each see fire coming out of the pores of their skin.

At this time, Mañjuśrī's body is like the mountain of purple gold; its size is six fathoms (vyāma); it is adorned with a circular radiance (prabhā-mandala), equal on all sides. Inside this aureole are five hundred fictitious Buddhas (nirmita) each surrounded by five fictitious Bodhisattvas. The headdress (cūḍā) of Mañju is adorned with the pendant (sagrābhilagnaratna). It has five hundred varied colors. In each of these colors appear the sun (surya), the moon (candra), the stars (tāraka), the palaces of the Devas and the Naga and all the marvels (adbhuta) of the world. Between his eyebrows (bhruvor madhye), there is a tuft of hair (urna), white (śveta) and turned to the right (pradakṣiṇāvartā). Fictional Buddhas appear and enter the net of lights. Their whole body shines and the flames (jvāla) follow one another. In each of these flames, there are five precious stones (mani); each of these precious stones has various fires and multiple colors. In these colors appear fictitious Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, impossible to describe. In the left hand they hold the alms bowl (patra); with their right hand they draw up the book of the Great Vehicle (mahāyāna-pustaka).

When Mañjuśrī manifested all these marks, the lights and fires go out. The beryl statue remains. On his left arm are ten Buddha seals (buddhamudrā); on each of these seals there are ten Buddha images whose names appear distinctly. On his arm

right are seven Buddha seals; on each of these seals there are seven Buddha images whose names appear distinctly. In the body, at the place of the heart, there is a statue of pure gold, in a seated position with crossed legs; it is six feet high and rests on a lotus; it is visible from all four sides.

The Buddha said to Bhadrapala: This Mañjuśrī possesses immense penetrations (abhijñā) and an immense power of transformation, escaping all description.

Now I address myself briefly to the blind of future generations. Any being who only hears the name Mañjuśrī uttered will cut off from the miseries of transmigration twelve hundred thousand Kalpa; whoever salutes and venerates him will be reborn, from existence to existence, in the family of the Buddhas, and will be protected by the power of Mañjuśrī. So therefore, for those who think carefully about the statue of Mañjuśrī, his Law and the statue of beryl, it will be as it was said above: one by one they will look at it and all will obtain

intelligence. Those who cannot see it should recite the Walking Sutra heroism (suramgamasutra) and pronounce the name of Mañjuśrī: in the interval of one to seven days, Mañjuśrī will come to them and, if they are hindered by their previous deeds (purvakarman), it is in a dream (svapna)

that they will see it. If those who see him in a dream are actually Śrāvaka, by this single vision, they will become Srotaāpanna, Sakṛdāgāmin or Anāgāmin. If they are religious (pravrajita) and they see Mañjuśrī, as soon as they see him, they will become Arhat within a day and a

night. For [Mahāyāna followers] who firmly believe in the Vaipulyasūtras, it is in dhyana that the dharmakumāra Mañjuśrī will expose the dharmas to them deep (gambhiradharma) or, if they are too distracted (vikṣiptacitta), it is in a dream that he will explain the true meaning (bhūtārtha) to them in order to confirm them.

Thus, in the supreme path (anuttaramārga) of Mahāyāna, they will be bodhisattvas without hindsight (avaivartika).

For those who accumulate meritorious deeds (punyakarman) by thinking to him or by venerating him, Mañjuśrī dharmakumāra will transform his own body and, making himself poor (daridra), orphan (anātha) and wretched (duḥkhita), he will present himself before them. Indeed those who think of Mañjuśrī exercise the thought of benevolence (maitricitta) and, exercising this thought of benevolence, they can see Mañjuśrī. This is why the sages must contemplate in truth the thirty-two marks (lakṣaṇa) and the eighty sub-marks (anuvyañjana) of Mañjuśrī. Those who practice this contemplation will quickly, through the power of the Heroic March, come to see Mañjuśrī. Those who do this contemplation are the true contemplatives; the others are false contemplatives.

After the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, all the beings who will hear the name of Mañjuśrī being pronounced and who will see his effigy will escape, for a hundred thousand Kalpa, from evil destinies (durgati). Those who will remember and recite the name of Mañjuśrī, whatever their faults, will not fall into the cruel fires of the Avīci hell, but will always be reborn in the pure lands of foreign spheres; they will meet the Buddhas, hear the Law and gain conviction in the birthless dharmas (anutpattikadharmakṣānti).

When the Buddha had said these words, five hundred bhikṣu were freed from their impurities (kṣīṇāsrava) and became Arhat; countless Devas produced the thought of enlightenment (bodhicitta) and formed the vow (pranidhāna) to always follow Mañjuśrī.

Then Bhadrapala said to the Buddha: Blessed, who then will erect on the relics (śarīra) of Mañju a stupa made of the seven jewels?

The Buddha replied: On Mount Gandhamadana there are eight great deities: they will take Mañjuśrī and lay him on the diamond peak (vajrakūṭa) of Gandhamadana. Countless Deva, Naga and Yakṣa will always come to honor him. When the great assembly convenes, the statue will always cast its brilliance, and this brilliance will preach the painful (duḥkha), empty (śūnya), transient (anitya) and impersonal (anātman) dharmas. O Bhadrāpāla, this dharmakumāra has an indestructible body (akṣaya-kaya). What I told you today, remember it well and proclaim it widely to all beings.

When the Buddha had said these words, Bhadrāpāla and the other great Bodhisattvas, Śāriputra and the other great Śrāvakas, the Devas, the Nāgas and the eightfold assembly highly praised the words of the Buddha and, after having saluted him, withdrew.

2. The conversion of the Nirgranthas of Vaiśālī.

In the many Sūtras in which he intervenes, Mañjuśrī loses himself in interminable considerations on the universal emptiness and the non-existence of beings and things. We only welcome with more interest the account of an episode which seems taken from life and where Mañjuśrī gives the measure of his skill in salvific means (upāyakauśalya). This is the conversion of Satyakanirgranthaputra, the well-known Jaina master 76). By its vivacity and its originality, the episode contrasts with the banality and the stereotypical character of the stories of conversion contained in the old canonical writings.

The event, which takes place in Vaiśālī, is related in the Ratnakāraṇḍa of which we have a first Chinese translation executed by Dharmarakṣa in 270 (T 461, k. 2, p. 461 c-462 c), a second Chinese translation due to Guṇabhadra between 436 and 468 (T 462, k. 2, p. 475 c 476 b) and a Tibetan version executed by Ratnarakṣita (OKC 785, p. 303 b - 305 b).

Here is a partial translation of this episode according to T 462, in the place indicated above:

76) Satyaka-Nirgranthaputra (in Pali, Saccaka-Niganthaputta): 1° In the Small Vehicle texts: Cūlasaccakasutta (Majjhima I, p. 227-237; Samyukta T 99, k. 5, p. 35 a 37 b; Ekottara T 125, k. 30, p. 715 a-717 b) — Mahāsaccakasutta (Majjhima I, p. 237-251) — Commentaries on the Majjhima (II, p. 268) and the Jātaka (III, p. 1 sq. Fa kiu p'i yu king T 211, k. 3, p. 594 c sq.). — Vibhāsa T 1545, k. 8, p. 37 c

14. 2° In the texts of the Great Vehicle: Bodhisattvagocaropāyaviṣayavikurva ṇanirdeśa (T 271, 272; OKC 813). - Upadesa T 1509, k. 1, p. 61b21; k. 26, p. 251 c 10; k. 90, p. 699 to 9.

Reverend Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra said to Śāriputra: I too once witnessed a miracle (ṛddhiprātihārya) of Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta. One day, the Buddha was at Vaiśālī, in Amrapālīvana, with a great troop of 500 bhikṣu. At that time, Satyaka Nirgranthiputra was in the great city of Vaiśālī, surrounded (satkrta) and worshiped (pūjita) by 60,000 disciples. Having entered into concentration (samādhi), I examined these Nirgranthas and saw that 100,000 of them were to be converted. I went to them and preached the Law to them, but no one would listen to me and no one conceived a good thought (āññācitta). They looked away, laughed at me, and swore at me. Having labored for three months, I had yet to convert anyone. After three months, completely discouraged (nirvinna), I left them and went away.

Then Mañjuśrī created by metamorphosis 500 tirthika, made himself their master (ācārya) and, at the head of these 500 disciples, went to Satyaka Nirgranthiputra. Having prostrated himself at his feet, he said to him: We have heard Your Excellency's praise, and from afar we have come hither to Vaiśālī. You will be our teacher (śāsty) and we will be your students (śiṣya). We will follow your instructions (anuśāsana). But make sure that we do not meet the śramane Gautama, but also that we do not hear speeches that are contrary to him (pratikūla).

Satyaka replied: Good, good! You are believers (śrāddha) and, before long, you will understand my discipline (vinaya).

Then Satyaka gave his own disciples the following orders: From today, you will mingle with these 500 young people (mānavaka) and converse with them. Listen carefully to everything they tell you.

Mañjuśrī and his 500 disciples followed the lessons given to them and adopted the rules (śikṣā) of the Nirgrantha. And even, by their attitudes (iryaṣa), they showed themselves superior to the latter. They constantly praised (varṇana) the Triple Jewel (triratna), but constantly also they praised the qualities of Satyaka, thus gaining the confidence of all.

Another day, when the assembly was assembled, Mañjuśrī spoke: We have, he said, Agama, Mantra, Veda and Tantra and, when we recite them, the virtues (guṇa) of the śramane Gautama penetrate into us, because there we find the true virtues (bhūtaguṇa) of the śramane Gautama. What do you mean? The śramane Gautama is of high birth by his father and his mother... [Follows a homily on the life of Buddha and his doctrine].

In the midst of the assembly of the tirthikas, Mañjuśrī gradually expounded (anupūrvana) the Good Law in such a way that 500 tirthikas obtained, on the dharmas, the pure eye of the Law, dustless and spotless (virajo vigatama-lam dharmaṣu dharmacakṣur viśuddham) and that 8,000 other tirthikas produced the thought of supreme and perfect enlightenment (anuttarāyām samyaksambodhau cittany utpāditāni).

Then the 500 disciples who had been created (nirmita) by Mañjuśrī prostrated themselves on the ground in the latter's presence and exclaimed:,, Homage to the Buddha! Homage to the Buddha!" (namo buddhaya). When the other tirthika who did not yet have faith saw these 500 young people (mānavaka) utter this cry, they imitated them and, prostrating themselves on the ground, they too cried: Namō buddhaya, namō buddhaya!

3. Mañjuśrī and the Vaipulyasutras.

It is generally believed that the first Vaipulyasutras were published around the beginning of our era, thus five centuries after Nirvāṇa

by Śākyamuni. However, the Mahāyāna theorists gave them as the authentic Word of the Buddha and, to support this claim, invented a number of legends concerning the preaching, compilation, preservation, publication and finally the diffusion of the Mahāyānasūtra.

Having already dealt with this subject elsewhere (77), I will confine myself here to underlining the role played by Mañjuśrī in the compilation and preservation of the texts.

While five hundred Sthavarian Arhats, immediately after Nirvāṇa of Śākyamuni, gathered at Rājagṛha, under the presidency of Mahākāśyapa, to hear from the mouth of Ananda and Upāli the recitation of law (dharma) and discipline (vinaya), a multitude of Bodhisattvas came to settle on the mythical mount of Vimalasvabhava, south of Rajagṛha, to compile the Mahāyānasūtra there; the council was presided over by Samantabhadra; Mañjuśrī repeated the Abhidharma; Maitreya, the Vinaya, and Vajrapāṇi the Sūtras. Some think that Ananda, doubling himself, participated in these assizes and aided or supplemented Vajrapāṇi in the recitation of the Great Vehicle Sūtras.

This fable appears in the Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa translated and annotated by Kumārajīva, from 402 to 404. It was taken up and developed by the author of the Tarkajvāla, the exegete Haribhadra (9th century), and the Tibetan historians Bu-ston (1323) and Taranatha (1608) 78). According to a belief common to India and China, the Mahāyānasūtras preached by the Buddha and compiled by the great Bodhisattvas, were of considerable dimensions and exceeded for the

77) On the formation of Mahāyāna, *Asiatica* (Festschrift F. Weller), Leipzig, 1954, p. 381-386.

78) Upadesa T 1509, k. 15, p. 173 c (cf. Treatise II, pp. 940-942); Tarkajvāla Mdo XIX, p. 180 at 2-4; Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka, ed. U. Wogihara, p. 5; Bu-ston, History of Buddhism, tr. E. Obermiller, II, p. 101, Heidelberg, 1932; Taranatha, Geschichte des Buddhismus, üb. von A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 62-63.

most 100,000 gāthā (32-syllable units). That's what got them the name of Vaipulyasūtra „Developed Sūtras". In a note appended to his translation of the Upadesa, Kumārajīva remarks:

The Buddha did not speak during a single existence. During countless generations, he created for himself by metamorphosis an incalculable number of bodies, and that is why what he said is immense: thus, there was an Acintyavimokṣasūtra (= Avatamsaka) in 100,000 gāthā. The Buddhajātakasūtra, the Ratnameghasūtra, the Mahāmeghasūtra and the Dharmameghasūtra each had 100,000 gāthā. The Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, the Kuśalamulasamgrahasūtra, the Mahākaruṇāsūtra, the Upāyasūtra, the Nāgarājapari-prcchasūtra, the Asurarājapari-prcchasūtra and other great Sūtras were immense and infinite like the jewels in the great sea. in the Tripitaka? It is the smaller that can enter into the larger; the larger does not fit into the smaller 79).

However, as everyone knows, the Mahāyānasūtra did not spread in India until five or six centuries after the Nirvāṇa of Śākyamuni. Where had they stayed in the meantime? The traditional explanation is summarized by Fa-tsang (643-712) as follows:

According to the Mañjuśrīparinirvāṇasūtra (T 463, P. 480c 20-21), four hundred and fifty years after the Buddha left this world, Mañjuśrī remained alone in the world. According to the Prajñāpāramitopadeśa (T 1509, k. 100, p. 756 b 15), many Mahāyānasūtras were compiled by Mañjuśrī, and notably this [Avatamsaka] Sūtra was compiled by Mañjuśrī. But, after the departure of the Buddha, the saints went into hiding and the heretics disputed the hegemony. Since there was a lack of vessels to hold these Great Vehicle Sūtras, they remained in the palace of the King of the Sea Naga, and for more than six centuries they did not circulate in the world. Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna entered the palace of the Nāga, and one day while visiting this deep palace, he memorized these sūtras. When he came out, he published them, and thus these sūtras spread 80).

It was indeed towards the beginning of our era that the Prajñāpāramitā and many Mahāyānasūtra were put into circulation:

When the Buddha was in this world, he could settle the doubts of the Community; Buddhist law was prosperous and there was no fear of its disappearance. But, after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, past five hundred years, the Good Law disappears little by little and, therefore, the work of the Buddha is threatened. It is then that the beings of living faculties (tīkṣṇendriya) will study and meditate on Prajñāpāramitā; they will offer her flowers and perfumes. Beings of weak faculties (mydvindriya) will transcribe it and also offer it

79) Upadesa T 1509, k. 100, p. 756b 5-10.

80) Houa yen king tchouan ki T 2073, k. I, p. 153b 17-23.

flowers and perfumes... The Prajñāpāramitā will spread far and wide in the northern region 81).

Nagarjuna, the founder of the Madhyamaka school, who lived, it is believed, in the second century of our era, contributed much to this diffusion. But his biography is only a fabric of legends 82). No one questioned his famous visit to the Naga palace. The Life of Bodhisattva Nagarjuna wrongly attributed to Kumarajiva reports that the King of the Nāga took pity on Nāgārjuna and allowed him to enter the sea. In his palace, he opened before him seven precious receptacles (pitaka); from all quarters he took abstruse sutras and precepts, as well as many marvelous Dharmas, and delivered them to Nāgārjuna. The latter recited them in 90 days and understood most of them 83). The stay of Nāgārjuna is still reported by other Indian, Chinese and Tibetan sources 84).

In the first centuries of our era, one discovered Mahāyānasūtra almost everywhere. Sadaprarudita found the Prajñā at Gandhāra, in the city of Gandhavati, in the center of a tower where the bodhisattva Dharmodgata had placed it: it was written on sheets of gold with molten beryl; sealed with seven seals, she was enclosed in a precious casket resting on a litter made of the seven jewels 85). Mañjuśrī himself, disguised as a bhikṣu, deposited in the residence of Chandragupta, king of Oḍḍiśa (Orissa) a manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā or a Tantra 86). Nāgārjuna brought back to Nālandā a copy of the Śatasāhasrikā and the Svalpākṣarā 87). Note

61) Upadesa T 1509, k. 67, p. 531 — note. On the Prajñā route, cf. Treatise 1, p. 25-26 b. in

82) Cf. M. Walleser, The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources, Hirth Anniversary Volume, London, 1922, p. 421-455. Other references in Treatise I, p. X-XIV.

83) Long chou p'ou sa tchouan T 2047, p. 184 c.

84) Harṣacarita of Bāṇa, ed. K. Parab, Bombay, 1945, p. 250; Fan yi ming yi tsi de Fa-yun (1088-1158), T 2131, k. 1, p. 1065c; Bu-ston II, p. 124; Taranatha, p. 70-71.

95) Aṣṭasāh., ed. R. Mitra, p. 507; Pañcavimsatisāh., T 223, k. 27, p. 420c; Śatasāh., T 220, k. 399, p. 1066a; Upadesa T 1509, k. 98, p. 744 y.

86) Taranatha, p. 58.

87) Bu-ston II, p. 124; Taranatha, p. 70-71.

while the Stavirian and Sarvāstivādin Buddhists who considered the Mahāyānasūtra to be apocryphal refused to be told about it and that in their eyes the Śatasāhasrikā, for example, was only a forgery composed by Nāgārjuna 88).

In the normal course of things, the literature in which a civilization expresses itself grows and amplifies as this civilization develops. In the Buddhist world, it was exactly the opposite, taking into account the omniscience of the Buddhas and the progressive decline of human faculties. It is a general belief in both Small and Large Vehicle Buddhism that there has been a loss of "primal revelation" (mūlasamgītibhramśa) and that we now possess only a small part of the Sutras preached by the Buddha 89. In those that we read, the Buddha constantly affirms that he would need a Kalpa, more than one Kalpa, etc., to expound at length the Prajñāpāramitā 90), the Acintyavimokṣa Avatamsaka 91), the Saddharmapundarīka 92), etc.

As preached by the Buddhas, compiled by the Bodhisattvas and kept in the palace of the Nāga, the Vaipulyasūtra numbered a minimum of 100,000 gāthā. When Nāgārjuna and his followers published them, they had to make summaries of them to adapt them to the "weak faculties" of their listeners. It was easy for them to transform a long recension into a short one and vice versa. For the Chinese, who did not have the same facilities, the fact was more serious. They were sorry to have only condensed and fragmentary texts, and aspired to find this famous review in

98) Taranatha, p.

71. 89) History of Indian Buddhism, p. 179-181.

90) *Aṣṭasāh.*, p. 462.

91) Vimalakīrtinirdeśa T 476, k. 3, p. 572 at 7-10.

92) Saddharmapund., p. 390-391.

100,000 gatha which, in their eyes, was the primitive recension 93).

In the third century, in Lo-yang, it was believed on the faith of the old masters, „that after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, an eminent foreign scholar () had condensed the Prajñāpāramitā in 90 sections (= the Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā) into a Tao-hing-道行品 (= p'in Aṣṭasahasrikā)" 94) and that these two recensions, both long and short, both derived from a basic Pen- p'in 本品 in 600,000 words (where E. Zürcher thinks he recognizes the Satasāhasrikā)" 95).

Chu She-hing who only knew the Prajñāpāramitā from the mediocre version of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā due to Lokakṣema (T 225), undertook, in 260, a long and painful journey in the countries of the West, in search of the Law ". Arriving in Khotan, he had the good fortune to find there the Sanskrit text of the Pañcavimśatisahasrikā 96).

This discovery, soon followed by other similar ones, only confirmed the Chinese in their respect for the long reviews which they held to be original and authentic. In the classifications and reclassifications to which they submitted the Prajñāpāramitā, they always give the long recension as the oldest, the middle recension as of intermediate age and the

**) Modern criticism is of a diametrically opposite opinion: „The Mahāyānasūtra have all been slowly built up over a long period": cf. E. Conze, The Composition of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, BSOAS, XIV, 1952, p. 251-252; The Literature on Perfect Wisdom, The Middle Way, XXVII, 1952, pp. 20-23; R. Hikata, Suvikrānta... ed., Fukuoka, 1958, pp. XXVIII-XXXV.

94) Ch'ou san tsang ki tsi, T 2145, k. 7, p. 47b15; p. 8, p. 55 b 16.

95) Ibidem, k. 8, p. 56 to 23.

96) Ibidem, k. 7, p. 47c-48b. But the date of Chu Che-hing's departure, 260, is also given as that of his ordination (cf. E. Zürcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China, Leiden, 1959, p. 340, n. 183). The Sanskrit text of the Pañcav, found in Khotan by Tchou Che-hing was brought back to China by his disciple Fou-jo-t'an (Punyadharmā?) and 佛照法師 translated into Chinese, at Lo-yang, in 291, by Mokṣala (T 221).

short review like the most recent 97). We will see later that they acted in the same way for the other texts and in particular for the Avatamsaka.

4. Mañjuśrī and the Naga of Dekhan.

In the Gandavyūha, one of the rare sections of the Avatamsaka whose original Sanskrit has come down to us, Mañjuśrī directs the Indian peregrinations of the young Sudhana by his advice, who sets out in search of perfect enlightenment. According to this Sūtra, Mañjuśrī himself went to the Dekhan in the great city of Dhanyākara (ed. D. T. Suzuki, p. 50. l. 17: dakṣinapathe dhanyākaram nāma nagaram). The Chinese versions render the name of this city by the characters: Kio tch'eng (T 278, k. 45, p. 687 c 9), Fou tch'eng | (T 279, k. 62, p. 331 c 26) or 福生 | Fou-cheng tch'eng (T 293, k.4, p. 677 a 11). Among the many Indian cities cited in the Gaṇḍavyūha, it is about the only one that can be identified: it is Dhānyakaṭaka, in Tibetan Ḥbras spuns, capital of the Andhra country. It is frequently mentioned in Buddhist inscriptions in Brahmi 98); according to Tibetan sources it served as the residence of Nagarjuna 99); and Hsiian-tsang devotes an interesting notice to it 100).

At Dhanyākara, Mañjuśrī had established himself in the caitya of the Vicitra-sāradhvajavyūha, "Development of the Multi-essence Banner" and had preached the sutra of the Dharmadhātunayaprabhāsa there.

*7) See, in chronological order, the classifications proposed in turn: 1. by Tao-ngan 道安 and Tche Tao-lin IV^e century (T 2145, k. 7, p. 476 15-16; k 8, pp. 55-56); 2. by Kumārajīva (402-404) in the notes incorporated in his translation of the Upadesa (T 1509, k. 67, p. 529 6 22-23; k. 79, p. 620 a 12); 3. by Seng-jouei, disciple of Kumārajīva (T 2145, k. 8, p. 55 a 8-9); 4. by the preface to T 245 (p. 825 b 21-23); 5. by the Kin kang sien louen falsely attributed to Vasubandhu (T 1512, k. 1, p. 798 a).

98) H. Lüders, List of Brahmi Inscriptions, s.v. Dhenukāka et sq., p. 206.

**) Bu-ston II, p. 125; Taranatha, p. 71.

100) If yu ki T 2087, k. 10, p. 930 c. History of Indian Buddhism, p. 377-380.

„Light on the principle of the element of the Law”. gé their destiny of snake against those of the gods and the men, and several thousands of them had become Bodhisattvas avaivartika, assured to progress without retreat towards the supreme and perfect illumination 101).

In the Lotus of the Good Law, Mañjuśrī, rising from the middle of the ocean, on a hundred-leaved lotus, the width of a chariot wheel, declares to the bodhisattva Prajñākūṣa that he has disciplined, at the bottom of the seas, creatures in immense and immeasurable numbers. A prodigy came to confirm his words. Several thousand lotuses, emerging from the ocean, soared into the air; and on these lotuses appeared to be seated several thousand Bodhisattvas who went by the way of the atmosphere to the Gr̥dhrakūṭaparvata of Rajagr̥ha where they remained suspended in the sky. These were all those whom Mañjuśrī had disciplined for the supreme state of Buddha 102).

The eight-year-old daughter of Sagara, king of the Nāga, had also heard Mañjuśrī proclaim the Lotus of Good Law. In the sight of all the worlds, she suppressed in herself the signs of her sex and showed herself clothed with masculine organs. Transformed into a Bodhisattva, she headed south and reached the Vimalā universe. There, seated near the trunk of a Bodhi tree, this Bodhisattva showed himself to have reached the state of a perfectly accomplished Buddha, bearing the thirty-two signs characteristic of a great man.

There would be an epilogue to the links uniting the holder of sacred science, haunting the high mountains, and this prophetic animal that is the serpent.

101) Gandavyuha, ed. D.T. Suzuki, p. 50-51.

102) Saddharmapund., p. 261.

103) Ibid., p. 265-266,

5. The individual manifestations of Mañjuśrī.

In the study full of facts and references that he devoted to Maitreya the inspirer 104), Mr. Demiéville showed how easy and frequent the relations were between the spheres where the Bodhisattvas reside and the world of men. Maitreya descends from the Tuṣita heaven to come and recite the Sutra of the Seventeen Lands in India. His devotees can, even during their lifetime, ascend to Maitreya to receive his teachings or his inspirations: they use their magical power (ṛddhyabhijñā) to go themselves to the heaven of the Tusita. Even more simply, and without moving bodily, they enter into communication with Maitreya during a spiritual transport, in meditation (samadhi) or in dream (svapna).

Mañjuśrī, too, manifests himself to his disciples and, more especially, to the Madhyamika who defend on earth the ideas that are dear to him: emptiness (śūnyatā), the absence of particular character (animitta), the non-taking consideration (apranihita) of beings and things. While it is relatively easy for Maitreya's disciples to reach the Tuṣita heavens that are part of our world, the distant cosmic spheres where Mañjuśrī resides are practically inaccessible to ordinary mortals. Only great Bodhisattvas could go there by their own magical strength. So it is in dreams that Mañjuśrī usually appears. Taranatha has listed the doctors to whom it was given to see Mañjuśrī's face". They were Mātṛceta (p. 95), Dignāga (p. 131), Buddhapālita (p. 135), Candragomin (p. 153), Santideva (p. 163), Lalitavajra (p. 189), Asvabhāva (p. 199), Līlavajra (p. 215), Buddhaguhya (p. 223), Prajñākaramati (p. 235), Prajñārakṣita (p. 245) and Bodhibhadra (p. 259).

104) P. Demiéville, *La Yogacarabhūmi*, p. 376-387.

These are not late inventions, for Hsiian-tsang also reports an appearance of this kind 105). The logician Dignāga was about to branch off to the Small Vehicle and take the Nirvāṇa of the Arhats when Mañjuśrī showed himself to him. He reminded him of his previous vow to devote himself to the good of all creatures and invited him to propagate Yogācārabhūmi, a treatise of the school of Asanga written under the inspiration of Maitreya. Dignāga therefore gave up following the career of the Arhats and devoted himself to the study of logic. After publishing his great treatise Pramāṇasamuccaya, he propagated the Yoga system anyway.

VII. Mañjuśrī in Khotan and Nepal.

In the Mañjuśrīpariṇirvāṇasūtra analyzed and translated above (VI, § 1), the Buddha announced that, 450 years after his Nirvāṇa, Mañjuśrī would go to Siue chan, "Snow Mountain" and convert five hundred hermits there. of the Hiang chan, "Mount of Perfumes" (Gandhamadana) which immediately follows shows that, in the mind of the Indian editor, the Snow Mountain in question is none other than the Himavat or the Himalayas.

But, in the idea of the Chinese, the denomination of Siue chan is much more elastic. To cite just one example, the Siue chan is also the name of various mountains located in western China, and in particular, the Richthofen mountains whose eternal snows rise on the borders of Kan-sou and of the Ts'ing-hai, to the south-west of the road leading towards Touen-houang between Leang-tcheou and Sou-tcheou, and which are identified under the name of K'i-lien in certain commentaries of the T'ang" 106).

This explains that, commenting on this passage from the Mañjuśrīpariṇirvāṇasūtra, the Chinese Tao-chē, who worked at Ch'ang-ngan

105) If yu ki T 2087, k. 10, p. 930 b-c.

108) P. Demiéville, The Council, p. 298, no. 2.

from 656 to 668, identifies the Siue chan with the Ts'ong-ling 葱岭 "Onions" on the plateau of the Pamirs. He concludes that the five hundred "Immortals" converted by Mañjuśrī were Serindians, living in the east of the Pamirs 107).

Whatever this interpretation may be, Mañjuśrī, from the 7th century AD, entered the cycle of Buddhist legends relating to Central Asia and in particular to Khotan 108).

1. Mañjuśrī in Khotan.

F. W. Thomas, in his *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, I, London, 1935, translated a whole series of Tibetan texts concerning Khotan (in Tibetan, Li-yul) where Mañjuśrī occasionally intervenes. The main ones are: 1. The Prophecy of Gośṛiga (OKC 1026) probably translated from Sanskrit; 2. The prophecy of the arhat Samghavardhana (Tanjour, Mdo XCIV, 44); 3. The Liḥi yul gyi lun bstan pa or Prophecy concerning Khotan; 4. The Li yul gyi lo rgyus or Annals of Khotan; 5. Vimalaprabha's Inquiry (OKC 835).

These texts are not prior to the 7th century AD. AD (cf. Thomas, l.c., p. 9, 42-43, 163-164); the third, Prophecy concerning Khotan, was translated into Chinese by Fa-tch'eng (T 2090) around the year 800 (cf. P. Demiéville, *Le Concile*, p. 189).

According to these prophecies, the Buddha was in Vaiśālī in the midst of a large assembly of Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha, gods and demi-gods, among whom was noted the presence of Pañcasikha, the king of the Gandharvas. Accompanied by all his suite, he went to the northern region, on the banks of the Goma river, near Mount Gośṛnga (now Kōhmāri). This mountain was inhabited

107) Fa yuan chu lin T 2122, k. 12, p. 379a; k. 100, p. 1028 c.

¹¹ The legends concerning Asoka and Khotan go back to substantially the same date: cf. *History of Indian Buddhism*, p. 281-282.

by great hermits, and there was also the stupa of the buddha Kāśyapa, stupa known as Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da. But, at that time, the whole region was covered by a large lake. So it is from the air that the Buddha blesses Mount Gośṛṅga, the Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da stūpa and, with them, the whole region of Dge ba, that is to say Khotan (Thomas, 1.c., p. 12-13; 89-91). In turn, the eight great Bodhisattvas who watched over the Kasyapa stupa blessed the mountain by expressing the wish to have their statues and monasteries there one day. Mañjuśrī's desire was to see a monastery rise on Mount Gośṛṅga by the name of Par-spon-byed (Id., p. 15).

First, the area had to be dried. On the order of the Buddha, the disciples Śariputra and Vaiśravaṇa won through the air the mountain of Śa (variant, Samansaraṇa). Śāriputra with his begging stick, Vaisravana with his sword, dried up half of the mountain and carried it to the western slope of the site, causing a great river to flow. As for the lake and all the living beings that inhabited it, they transferred them to the middle of the So-rtan-po, literally, of the So river (Id., p. 35, 95). In doing so, they uncovered the Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da stupa, Mount Gośṛṅga and the country of Khotan.

All the geographical terms discussed here have already been studied (bibliography in Thomas, o.c., p. 1-10), but it is perhaps useful to clarify the following points here:

The Mahasamnipata (T 397, k. 45, p. 294 c 3-4) already mentions, in Yu-t'ien (Khotan), the Nieou-kio-fong-牛角峯山 chan (Gośṛṅgaparvata,, Mountain of the horn of the ox") where the Kiu-mo-so-lo-kan-t'o meou-ni ta-tche-t'i瞿摩娑羅乾陀牟尼大支提 (Gomasalagandhamunimahācaitya,,The great temple of sage Gomasala").

In their list of places inhabited by ancient Bodhisattvas

(pūrvabodhisattvadyāsitasthāna), the two Chinese versions and the Tibetan version of the Avatamsaka (T 278, k. 29, p. 590 a 28-29; T 279, k. 45, p. 241 c 18; OKC 761, n° 38, p. 276 b 6-7) indicate the Gośirṣaparvata (Nieou-t'eou-chan; Ba lan gi mgo bo,, Ox's head mount") 109) which they respectively locate at Pien-yi-kouo, Kingdom of the Frontier Barbarians", to the land of Chou-lö,,Kashgar", and to the Yul Kha-san,,Land of Khaśa" 110).

Passing through Khotan on his return from India around 644, Hsiian-tsang (T 2087, k. 12, p. 943 c 14-18) points out, more than twenty li south-west of the capital, Mount K' iu-che-tsiun (read: leng)- 瞿室餞 k'iẽ (), in Chinese Nieou-kio (Gōśṛṅga). He recalls that the Buddha visited this mountain and there predicted the future successes of Mahāyāna in this kingdom. Mount Gośṛṅga, he clarified, was a double-peaked mountain with steep peaks on all sides.

With its mountain, its peaks and its lake, the place offered Mañjuśrī an ideal residence, in every way similar to that of Gandhamādana in the Himalayas. And one can wonder if this Vaiśra-vana who fitted it out with a stroke of his sword was not a nirmāṇa of Mañjuśrī.

2. Mañjuśrī in Nepal.

Formerly, Khotan was said in Tibetan Li-yul. But after the disappearance of Khotan as an independent kingdom, there was some uncertainty among Tibetan authors about the location of Li-yul. Some identify Li-yul with Mongolia, others with a province of Tibet, others finally with Nepal (Pal-yul). It's that

109) In the sources studied by F. W. Thomas, Gośṛga is rendered in Tibetan as Glan ru, whose name survives in that of the present village of

Langhru. 110) On all these terms, see now P. Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, I, Paris, 1959, P. 196-214.

which explains that at a late date a large number of Khotanese legends were transplanted to Nepal. The subject has been treated by Professor J. Brough in a short but substantial article, *Legends of Khotan and Nepal* (BSOAS, XII, 1948, p. 333-339), of which I translate an extract here:

„In Nepal, the main collections of local legends are the Svayambhūpurāṇa 111) and the Buddhist Vamśāvalī 112). The latter, compiled at the beginning of the 19th century, draws heavily on the former for the legendary period, but apparently also uses other sources. According to the testimony of the Svayambhūpurāṇa 113), Mañjudeva arrived, from the mountain of Mañjuśrī in China 114), to the valley of Nepal which was originally a lake, the Kalihrada (Nagahrada according to the Vamśāvalī). There he opened the six valleys on the southern shore of the lake, draining the waters from them. Then, on the southern side of one of these valleys, the Gandhavatī, he dug a new lake and raised a mountain beside the ancient Kalihrada. At the top of this mountain he dug a new lake in which the Naga of Kalihrada were invited to take their places. west of Kathmandu. According to the Svayambhūpurāṇa 116), the name of this hill was Padmagiri during the Satya-yuga, because of its five lotuses made of jewels. During the Tretāyuga,

111) Like almost all the others, this Purana is of undetermined date.

112) This is the Vamsavali of Buddhist tendency written around 1800 in Patan by a Mahabodhivihāra monk, freely translated into English by the pandits of the British Residency and edited by D. Wright, *History of Nepal* translated from the Parbatiya, Cambridge, 1877. On the Nepalese Vamśāvalī, see L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, Rome, 1958, p. 5-10.

113) Ed. Haraprasad Sastri, *Bibl. Ind.*, 1900, p. 166 sq. 114)

Mount Sirsa, "Head" in Mahacina, according to the Svayambhupurana and the „Twenty-five stanzas to invoke the favor of the divinities of Nepal", a small treatise pointed out by E. Burnouf, *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, Paris, 1852, p. 502. This Mount Śirṣa, for Pañcasirṣa, is obviously the Wou-t'ai chan Chan-si.

115) Svayambhup., p. 174.

116) Ibid., p. 8-9.

the hill was called Vajrakūta; during the Dvaparayuga, Gośṅga; finally, during the Kaliyuga, Gopuccha 117). Near the Svayambhūcaitya (according to Wright, on the western peak of the Svayambhū hill) is located the Nepalese residence of Mañjuśrī, the Mañjuśrīcaitya" 118).

Through these Brahmanic contaminations, the reader will have recognized the legend of Mount Gośṅga in Khotan, itself dependent on Indian traditions relating to the Himalayan Gandhamadana. But the Nepalese cycle of Mañjuśrī is of recent date. The Bodhisattva does not appear in the Nepalese inscriptions 119), and there is no question of it during the Indian Middle Ages.

VIII. Mañjuśrī in China.

I. The Wou-t'ai chan.

Bodhisattva of India and Serindia, Mañjuśrī is still the great Bodhisattva of Upper Asia. From the 4th century to the present day, he has his residence in China at Wou-t'ai chan, "Mount 五臺 of the five terraces", where his presence attracted crowds of pilgrims for centuries. This mountain or rather this mountain range , with an altitude of 3,040 meters, is located northwest of the sub-prefecture of Wou-t'ai and northeast of that of Fan-tche, in present-day Chan-si.

During its long history, the mountain was still known by other names. A 7th century author notes the names Ts'ing-leang chan Cool Mountain", Wou-fong chan, Five Peaks Mountain", and Tseu-fu chan, Purple Palace Mountain" 120).

117) The inanimate symbol of Mañjuśrī, — symbol designated as vitarāga, „exempt of passion" - was a cauri or fly swatter made with the tail (puccha) of a Yak, a very Himalayan symbol (cf. Burnout, I.c., p. 501).

118) D. Wright, o.c., p. 79.

119) Published by R. Gnoli, Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters, Rome, 1956.

120) Fa-tsang, in T 2098, k. 1, p. 1093 y.

One will find elsewhere the history of this important holy place on which M. Demiéville has assembled a copious bibliography 121). In the subject which occupies us we will limit ourselves to using three Chinese monographs: 122)

A. A notice contained in T 2073, k. 1, p. 156c 157b:

Houa yen king tchouan ki, Notes on the tradition of the Avatamsakasūtra" by Fa-tsang. Fa-tsang, born in 643 of a family of Sogdian origin established in Tch'ang-ngan, was the disciple of Tche-yen and succeeded him as the third patriarch of the Houa-yen 大原寺 sect. He resided in the Ta-yuan ssu of Ch'ang-ngan from 670. of 695, then with Yi-tsing. He died in 712, at Ta-ts'ien-fou sseu

大薦福寺 of Ch'ang-ngan.

B. T 2098: Kou ts'ing leang tchouan Ancient traditions on the Ts'ing-leang" by Houei-siang, monk Chinese of Lan-kou, who visited Wu-t'ai in 667.

C. T 2099: Kouang ts'ing leang tchouan, Traditions developed on the Ts'ing-leang" by Yen-yi E, Chinese who resided in Wou-t'ai and published the work in

1060. Here is the translation of the first entry:

About a treatise (śāstra) in six hundred scrolls on the Avatamsaka. Formerly, at the beginning of the Ta-huo era of the Pei Ts'i (123), the third prince, who was looking for the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī on the Ts'ing-leang shan, burned his body as an offering 124).

121) P. Demiéville, The Council, p.

376-377. 122) In the notes that follow, I refer to it as A, B and C respectively.

123) The Pei Ts'i (550-577) of the Kao family, Ye capital, were ardent Buddhists. Their founder Kao Yang (550-559) received ordination from the Bodhisattva upon his accession (Mochizuki, Chronology, p. 131). A will return in a moment to the role played by this dynasty in Wou-t'ai.

124) On the sacrifice of the "third prince" who burnt his body as an offering (practice of „devotion" current in China), see also B, p. 1094 c 14-16; C, p. 1107 b 15 (which refers to the previous one). But the date is difficult. M. Demiéville, whom I consulted, told me uniquely: „According to Fa-tsang (4, p. 156 c 18), it was „at the beginning" (i.e. the first

This prince had a eunuch named Lieou K'ien-tchè. This one, who regretted his physical deficiency and had witnessed the scene of the prince burning himself, asked the emperor for permission to enter the mountain [of Ch'ing-leang] to cultivate the Way there. A decree authorized it. So he brought the [Avatamsaka] Sutra there and devoted all his efforts to it day and night. He confessed his faults, recited the sutra, asked for choice favors, and in the hope of mysterious relief abstained from eating grain and drank only water. After three weeks his physical complexion weakened, but he redoubled his zeal. Suddenly, he felt all his hair grow back and he covered his male organs. His mind cleared and he penetrated the mysteries. He extended his reflections and deepened his researches, and it was then that he composed, from one end to the other, the aforesaid treatise [in six hundred scrolls on the Avatamsaka]. He returned to report to the emperor, and Kao-tsou attached faith to his story. From then on, it was a steady progress, and the Avatamsaka Sutra enjoyed full success 125).

Under the Sui dynasty, the master of the Law Houei-yuan 慧遠 of the Tsing-ying ssu 淨影寺 had in his old age composed a commentary shut up (chou sur ce Sutra [of the Avatamsaka] 126). When he came to the chapter on the Application [of merits] 127), he suddenly felt sick at heart. He looked at his chest and saw a pore over his heart that was leaking blood. In addition he dreamed that, with a scythe in hand, he climbed a high mountain, mowing it down as he went, but that when he reached halfway his strength was failing and he could no longer stand. Waking up, he

year) of the Ta-houo era of the Pei Ts'i. But there is no era of this name under the Pei Ts'i.

Furthermore, as A says below (p. 156c 26), the reigning emperor was Kao-tsou 高祖 and there is, unless I am mistaken, no emperor of this name under the Pei Ts'i. This may be

Emperor Kao-tsou Hiao-wen Hong of the Pei Wei m sous

which there was a T'ai-huo era, 477-499 [cf. A. C. Moule, The Rulers of China, Chronological Tables, London, 1957, p. 29]. I have looked in the history of the "Northern Dynasties" (Pei che) for the biographies of the sons of Hiao-wen ti of the Wei and of the first emperor of the Pei Ts'i; I have found no allusion to this story, but this one was very popular at Wou-t'ai,"

125) On the eunuch, see again B, p. 1094 c 16-22.

128) Houei-yuan, of the Sui dynasty (581-617), was born in Touen-houang in 523. He resided in Ye where, in 578, he openly resisted Emperor Wu of the Pei Tcheou who wanted to proscribe Buddhism. The Emperor of Sui founded for him the monastery of Tsing-ying ssu where he resided from 587. There were many disciples and died there in 592. Houei-yuan was a polygrapher who left us a great work on the Mahāyāna (T 1851) and commentaries on the Sukhāvatīvyūha (T 1745 and 1749), the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (T 1776), the Sutra of the Invitation to the Bath (T 1793) and the Sraddhotpāda (T 1843), the latter of authenticity discussed. As far as I know, there are no traces left of his unfinished commentary on the Avatamsaka.

127) This is the chapter titled in Sanskrit Vajradhvajapariṇāmanā, ch. XXI in the Chinese version of Buddhahadra (T 278, k. 14, p. 488 a), ch. XXV in the Chinese version of Sikṣānanda (T 279, k. 23, p. 124 a), ch. XXX in the Tibetan version (OKC 761, vol. ri, p. 134 b).

said to his disciples: „This dream means that my commentary cannot be finished". From then on, he interrupted his work.

The master of the law Hieou, of Siang tcheou, heard the Avatamsaka more than fifty times. He carefully scrutinized the text and content. But the harder he tried, the deeper he sank into the darkness. Then he said to himself: „This is the definitive word of the great saint [Mañjuśrī]; how could it be understood by the humble layman that I am?"

Consider the vast knowledge of these two sages [Houei-yuan and Hieou]. Their greatness and their resources were rare, but they lagged along and could not understand the Avatamsaka to the end. On the contrary [the eunuch] Lieou K'ien-tche did not even take a few dozen days to write his immense treatise [in six hundred scrolls on the Avatamsaka]. What a feat! But it was the great saint [Mañjuśrī] who helped him: there is therefore nothing very surprising in this 128).

In the Avatamsaka, in the chapter of the Residences of the Bodhisattvas, it is said: „To the northeast there is a residence of Bodhisattva called Ts'ing-leang chan, Mount Fresh. Currently, there is a Bodhisattva named Mañjuśrī who, with a myriad of Bodhisattvas, is always there and preaches the Law" 129). This is why today, at the foot of this mountain, there is the prefecture of Ts'ing-leang, and on a small peak on the southern side of the mountain, the monastery of Ts'ing-leang 180).

Another name is Wu-t'ai chan, Mount of five terraces".

Because these five mountains are very high, trees do not grow on top. Because their configuration resembles heaped earth, they are called "terraces". The circumference of the mountain exceeds four hundred lis. To the east, it is connected with Mount Heng, 181).

On the central terrace, there is the Ta-houa-tch'e Pond with large flowers" 132). It is clear and limpid, and the vapors which rise are very effective. There are also beautiful houses and stone stupas. On the north terrace there are two iron Stūpa containing both relics 133). There is also a statue of Mañju.

128) Not everyone has the virility of the eunuch; but Fa-tsang could have mentioned the considerable activity displayed by T'ang China in the exegesis of the Avamsaka.

We owe Fa-tsang himself, his predecessor Che-yen (602-668) and his successor Ch'eng-kuan (737-820 or 838) seven commentaries on the Avatamsaka (T 1732-1738), one of which exceeds 90 rolls. Li T'ong-huan took about ten years (719-729) to write his New Treatise on the Avatamsaka (T 1739) in 40 scrolls. The T'ien-t'ai sect also took an interest in the same subject in the person of Tchan-jan-782), author of T 1742. The exegesis of the Avatamsaka alone occupies two whole volumes. from the Taishō edition.

129) We will return later to this capital text in the history of Wou-t'ai and the Houa-yen sect.

130) See C, p. 1107 a

21. 131) See B, p. 1093b 14-15. Mount Heng is one of China's five sacred peaks, the one North.

132) See B, p. 1093 b 22 and c 2; C, p. 1105 b 29.

133) Cf. B, p. 1094 a 19.

To the south-east of the central terrace, more than thirty lis below, there is the Ta-feou sseu ★founded by Emperor Ming of Han 134).

134) Concerning the same monument, we read in B, p. 1094 a 25: „The Ta-fou-t'ou ssu 大

圖寺 was founded by Wen-ti 文帝 of the Yuan Wei [Kao-tsou Hiao-

wen Hong (471-499) of the Pei Wei]. Formerly this emperor had stopped there and had organized religious ceremonies. Then, in a holy thought, he had established this monastery.

Madness signifies faith. This is explained by saying that the emperor, having encountered extraordinary things there, had increased his faith.

C, p. 1103 c 8 sq., cites a passage from the Kan t'ong lou (T 2107, p. 437 a 21) where the master of the vināya, Tao-siuan (596-667), asks the following question: „Currently at Wou - t'ai chan, thirty lis south-east of the central terrace, there is the

大孚靈鷲寺 Ta-fou-ling-tsieou sseu ... Some (cf. A) say that it was founded 漢 by Ming HJ of the Han [Ming ti (58-75) of Later Han]; others (cf. B) say

it was founded by Hiao-wen (471-499) of Wei. How can this — be explained?

.Answer: The two emperors, once, both erected a monastery in this place سعيد

And King Ā-yü [Aśoka, Indian king, ca 272-236 a.C.], too, built a stupa in this place. Not long ago, in the time of Mou-wang of the Tcheou [X® s. a.C.], the Law of the Buddha already existed. This mountain is spiritual and extraordinary; it is inhabited by Mañju. At the beginning of the Han Ming reign, Mo-t'eng (Kasyapa Matanga), by his divine eye, saw this stupa [of Aśoka] and he advised to build monasteries [nearby]. In the wording Ta-fou-ling-tsieou, the character fou means „faith: the emperor [Ming] had faith in Buddhist principles; he erected a monastery to exhort men; this is why we say Ta fou Also, the configuration of the mountain is the same to the holy mountain of Gr̥dhraparvata, "Mount of the Vulture" in India: hence it is called Ling-tsieou."

This tissue of anachronisms can be used as a basis for dating. Indeed the legends reported here were formed only in the 4th and 5th centuries AD, which excludes any intervention by Aśoka (272-236 a.C.) and Ming-ti (58-75 p.C.) in the history of the Wow you chan.

1. It was in 306 that the translation of the first five chapters of the Aśokarājāvadāna (T 2042) by Ngan Fa-k'in (cf. T 2149, k. 2, p. 236 a 12) taught the Chinese that Aśoka had been a cakravartin king, "four-sided" (caturbhāgacakravartin) and that he had built 84,000 stupas in his empire (cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 368, l. 26-28). discussion (cf. Kośa III, p. 197, n. 3): it can be a question of a king reigning on only one continent, or on the four continents (caturdvipaka in the Bodhisattvabhūmi, p. 334, l. 12; caturdvipeśvara in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 175, l. 10. Be that as it may, the Chinese believed that Aśoka had reigned over their empire and distributed the relics of the Buddha on their soil. „relics of Aśoka" with the double aim of supporting Buddhist propaganda in China and of flattering the Court with auspicious finds for the princes. In his admirable work The Buddhist Conquest of China, Leiden, 1959, p. 277-280, M. E. Zürcher reported nine discoveries of this kind made during the 4th century: they are monasteries, stupas and statues attributed to Asoka. In the same spirit, from the beginning of the 5th century, several mountains in China

Being very old, it is falling more and more into ruins, but the traces of the foundations can still be recognized. In the center, there are two rooms, the eastern and the western, of which the arrangement of statues still remains 135). In front, there is a flower garden, from two to three hundred acres 186). A fabric of crisscrossed flowers of all kinds, it shines like fine silk and shines like the fires of sunny fog. There are extraordinary and unheard-of species there, real rarities. On the fifteenth day of the seventh moon, these myriads of flowers bloom at once.

Then, eight or nine li to the north, where once the prince had sacrificed his life, now stands a memorial stupa.

Formerly, at the time of the Pei Ts'i, Taoism having undergone a great proscription, one raised on this mountain more than two hundred samghārāma

Buddhists and levies were made on the taxes of eight prefectures, Heng-ting and others, to ensure mountain communities resources in clothes and medicines 137). Today,

the Saint [Mañjuśrī] inhabits this precious land and is there constantly because, according to various traditions, Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī still preaches the Avatamsakasutra in this place. This is why, from antiquity 138) until the reign of the T'ang, often Buddhist monks from Western countries, without shrinking from the myriads of lilies [that they have to go through], go to these peaks to visit [Mañjuśrī]; and from this very country (China), religious and lay people follow each other in processions raising the dust from the ruts. Sometimes one encounters crowds of holy monks, or pavilions of immortals and precious terraces. There shines a spiritual light and marvelous perfumes perfume the atmosphere. In the air, bells ring out automatically; precious stanzas are heard from afar. Suddenly and suddenly a thousand miraculous transformations are manifested there, as reported in the "Notice on Mount Ts'ingleang". leang".

received the name of Ling-tsicou chan in memory of and by assimilation to the Gr̥dhrakūta-parvata of Rājagṛha (Zürcher, o.l., p. 208; 394, n. 136 and 137).

2. H. Maspero has shown for a long time (BEFEO, X, 1910, p. 95-130) that the dream and the embassy of Emperor Ming is a fable which was formed in the Buddhist circles of Lo-yang in the third century of our era. It was only at the end of the 5th century that Kāśyapa Matanga was ranked among the members of this so-called embassy.

It is therefore obvious that the oldest Buddhist monument of the Wou-t'ai, namely the Ta Feou-t'ou Ling-tsieou sseu could not have been founded until the fifth century of our era and that only the tradition which attributes its foundation to Hiao-wen Hong of the P'ei Wei presents some historical verisimilitude.

As for the name of the monument, it remains of uncertain interpretation, the characters feout-t'ou being able to mean sometimes buddha and sometimes stupa (Mochizuki, p. 4482 c).

¹³⁵⁾ Cf. B, p. 1094 a 28.

138) See B, p. 1095 c 1; C, p.

1103 c II. 137) See above,

n. 123. 138) New anachronism: as we will see later, it is only from VII

century that the Indians or, more precisely, the inhabitants of Serindia () believed in the presence of Mañjuśrī in China. The first known pilgrim was Buddhapālita who visited the Wou-t'ai in 676.

The mountain is on the edge of Tai prefecture, 1,600¹³⁹ lily of the capital [Ch'ang-ngan] 139). But the place is on the borders; the cold is particularly severe there. This is why, before the fourth moon and after the seventh, the ice is set and the snow accumulates; a dazzling whiteness fills everything. Except in the height of summer, it is impossible to climb the mountain. Arise, sages who have embraced the path! Could it be that you don't all go there once?

From Houei-siang's notice, it will suffice to extract the following passage (*B*, 1093 a 9-13):

The third year yong-kiades Tsin (309¹⁴⁰), in the former commandery of Yen-men, more than one hundred families from the sub-prefecture of Souo-jen (pronounced Souo-jen or Soua-jen), Fleeing from troubles, retired to this mountain. When they saw the mountaineers, they stopped and did not return home, but settled in these steep and wild places. Sometimes people passing by observed their homes from afar, but when they went there to visit them, no one knew where they were. This is why this mountain was considered a capital of the Immortals. A Book of Immortals says: „The five-tiered Mount is called the Purple Palace; purple vapors are often given off. Immortals dwell there.”

The few pieces of information gathered here make it possible to identify the main lines of the history of Wou-t'ai chan. The mountain was a Taoist center and a residence of Immortals until the beginning of the 4th century (309). During the 4th century, the Buddhists annexed it and placed the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī there. The mountain with its five peaks, its lake and its Immortals was, like Gandhamadana in India and Gośṅga in Khotan, a very suitable holy place for Mañjuśrī and his five hundred ṛṣi. At a date that we will try to determine, the Chinese translators of the Avatamsaka introduced into the original text a passage giving Ts'ing-leang chan (another name for Wou-t'ai shan) as a former residence of Mañjuśrī. In the second half of the 5th century, in 471 or 477, Emperor Hiao-wen Hong of the Pei Wei erected on the mountain

¹³⁹) Cf. *B*, p. 1093 b 13.

¹⁴⁰) Under Emperor Sseu-ma Hiao-huai Tch'e yang 司馬 who reigned in Lo- from 307 to 311 (A. C. Moule, *Rulers of China*, p. 17). *

the monastery of Ta Feou-t'ou Ling-tsieou which was undoubtedly the first Buddhist monument of the place. Around the same date, a third prince "burned his body there out of devotion" to Mañjuśrī.

The cult of the great Bodhisattva was already very flourishing at the beginning of the sixth century (141). Under the Pei Ts'i (550-577), more than two hundred samghārāma were built in Wou-t'ai, and a levy on the taxes of the inhabitants of neighboring districts was assigned to the maintenance of the monks.

But it was under the T'ang (618-907) that the cult of Mañjuśrī reached its peak in China. The industrious patriarchs of the Hua-yen sect, Tche-yen (602-668), Fa-tsang (643-712), Tch'eng-kouan (737-820 or 838), as well as Li T'ong-hiuan, who made the mountain their holy land, contributed greatly to its success. The Wou-t'ai shan began to be frequented by Buddhists from all over China and by foreign pilgrims, Indians, Japanese and Tibetans. The pilgrimage was organized: plans and notices were made available to visitors (142).

2. The falsification of the Avatamsaka.

We have seen the important role played by the Avatamsaka and the sect Houa-yen in the traditions relating to Wou-t'ai. It is appropriate here to outline the history of the Avatamsaka in China and to note the manipulations to which it was subjected with regard to the holy mountain.

First partial translations of the Avatamsaka. —We ignore

141) Chouei king tchou of Li Tao-yuan, died in 527, ed. Wang Sien-k'ien, 1892, XI, 31 a-b; T'ai p'ing yu lan, ed. Ssu pou ts'ong k'an, XLV, 4 a.

142) A mural representing the Wou-t'ai was discovered in cave 117 of Touen-houang, a cave constructed between 980 and 995 (cf. P. Demiéville, *Le Concile*, p. 377; Basil Gray, *Buddhist Cave Paintings at Tun-huang*, London, 1959, pp. 74-75 and pl. 67 B). On the plans or paintings that were provided to the pilgrims, cf. E.O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, New York, 1955, p. 269-270.

all of the genesis of the Sanskrit Avatamsaka of which only a few parts, the Dharmadhatupraveśa, the Gaṇḍavyūha and the Dasabhumika have come down to us in the original. Was it a homogeneous work, or a collection of disparate texts artificially grouped together, as was apparently the case with the Ratnakūṭa? The Chinese did not ask themselves the question. For them, the Avatamsaka was preached by the Buddha, collated by Mañjuśrī and kept for six centuries in the palace of the Nāga. During his visit to this palace, Nāgārjuna was able to memorize the famous recension long in 100,000 gāthā, but during his preaching he had to reduce it considerably because of the imbecility of his listeners.

Until the 5th century, the Avatamsaka entered China in bits and pieces, through the partial translations executed in the 2nd and 3rd centuries by Lokakṣema at Lo-yang (T 280), Tche K'ien at Nanking (T 281) and especially Dharmarakṣa at Ch'ang-ngan (T 283, 285, 288, 291, 292). Published in 297, the translation of the Dasabhumika by Dharmarakṣa made a great impression. A copy, regrettably amputated from the first roll, even reached Siang-yang, 襄陽 at Hou-pei, in the famous library of Tao-ngan which 道安 stayed there from 365 to 379. Tao-ngan considered this copy to be a rarity, praising the translation of Dharmarakṣa and lamented that it was so little known in China 143).

Discovery and translation of the recension in 36,000 gāthā. — The discovery of the first complete recension of the Avatamsaka was the fact of Tche Fa-ling on which the information is fragmentary and contradictory.

It is first necessary to eliminate the data provided by the Fa yuan tchou lin 144), compiled in 668. According to this source, after the

148) Ch'ou san tsang ki tsi T 2145, k. 9, p. 62 a-c.

144) T 2122, k. 89, p. 944 c.

reign of Emperor Houan (147-168) of the Heou Han, five Western monks, originating from a kingdom in Northern India, came to China. They were Tche Fa-ling, Tche K'ien, Tchou Fa-hou (Dharmarakṣa), Tchou Tao-cheng and Tche Leou-tch'an. Fa-ling recited aloud a chapter of the Prātimokṣa and the Karmavācanā, and as such would be the introducer of religious ordination in China. S. Lévi, É. Chavannes and P. Pelliot have denounced the incoherence of this information which brings together in the same embassy five characters of different dates and origins 145).

According to the Kao seng tchouan published by Houei-kiao between 519 and 544, and the Tch'ou san tsang ki tsi published by Seng-yeou in 515, Fa-ling was the disciple of Houei-yuan (334-416), a Chinese monk influential who founded, in 402, at Mount Lou (the modern Kou-ling in Kiang-si) the White Lotus Association and exercised a kind of patriarchy over all Chinese Buddhism 146).

Primarily, many of the sutras in use east of the [Yang-tzu] river were incomplete; the rules of the dhyāna were not known and the Vinaya-pitaka was defective. Lamenting these doctrinal deficiencies, Houei-yuan sent his disciples Fa-tsing, Fa-ling, etc., to seek the sutras far and wide. They crossed the sands and the snows and, after many years, they returned. All had found Sanskrit texts which could then be translated 147).

The same two sources, but in another place, specify that: „The śramane Tche Fa-ling, arriving in Yu-t'ien (Khotan), obtained the 36,000 gāthā of the anterior part of the Avatamsaka. But there was no translation" 148.

A contemporary document, the preface to the Vinaya translation of the Dharmaguptaka executed in 410, provides dates and details of Fa-ling's mission:

145) S. Lévi and É. Chavannes, The Sixteen Arhat Protectors of the Law, JA, 1916, p. 40-45 offprint; P. Pelliot, Meou-tseu or the doubts lifted, TP, XIX, 1920, p. 346.

146) On Houei-yuan, cf. E. Zürcher, o., p. 204-262.

147) T 2059, k. 6, p. 359b 15-18; T 2145, k. 15.p. 110 a 14-17 (in this last source, Fa-ling's name is omitted).

148) T 2059, k. 2, p. 335 c 3-6; T 2145, k. 14, p. 104 a 19-20.

In the year Jen-tch'en (392), there was the śramane Tche Fa-ling of country of the Chins 149). Noting the perversion of the border countries and deploring the lack of dissemination of correct discipline, he sacrificed his life and exposed himself to dangers in order to spread religion among those who were unaware of it. To the west, he crosses the Quicksands towards the distant Indies. Passing through Khotan, he met the Dharmaguptaka sect and a Mahāyāna trepi□akin, the śramane Buddhayasas. He was a man of talent, of vast knowledge, who understood and practiced the Sūtras, the Vinaya as well as the Tripitaka. Together they recited and studied the texts. Then, in Khotan, they collected a mass of sutras in their vihāra. After which they returned, and in the year wou-shên (408) arrived in the country of the Ch'in. Yao, the ruler of Ch'in 150), filled with admiration for the profound mysteries and hidden beauties [of Buddhism], declared that the Great Law is profound, that to save sentient beings there must be śīla and that these, being propagated by a host of saints, cannot have faults. So, that same year, Yao twice invited [Buddhayaśas] to translate the Vinayapiṭaka 151).

However condensed it may be, this notice holds up quite well and corresponds to what we know elsewhere. As early as the 3rd century, Khotan was a Mahāyānasūtra reserve. As we saw above 152), Chu She-hing found there, in 260, an Indian manuscript of the Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā, a text which was translated at Ch'ang-ngan, in 291, by the Khotanese Mokṣala (T 221). In 296, another Khotanese, Gitamitra, arrived at Ch'ang-ngan with a new manuscript of the same text 153). Finally Fa-hien, who stayed three months in Khotan, in 401, was struck by the rise of the Mahāyāna in this small kingdom, surrounded by regions which until then had remained under Sarvāstivādin obedience 154).

The Kāśmīrian cleric Buddhayasas, while holding school at Chalö 沙勒 (Kashgar), instructed Kumārajīva (344-409) in the Great Vehicle and initiated him into the scholastic madhyamika. More

149) Tong Tsin of the Sseu-ma family who reigned in Kien-k'ang (Nanking) from 317 to 420 (cf. Moule, p. 18-19).

150) Heou Ch'in of the Yao family who reigned in Ch'ang-ngan from 384 to 417. The sovereign referred to here is Yao Hing 姚典 (394-416).

151) Preface to T 1428, p. 567 a 20-b

2. 16%) Above, note 96.

153) Ch'ou san tsang ki tsi, T 2145, k. 48, p. 48 at 1-3.

154) Fa hien chuan T 2085, p. 857 b.

later, learning that Kumārajīva was at Kou-tsang (near **姑臧** Leang-tcheou in Kan-sou), he reached the latter town, around the year 401. But Kumārajīva had just been kidnapped by a Chinese army and installed in force at Ch'ang-ngan by the barbarian ruler Yao Hing. Told of Buddhayasas' arrival at Ku-tsang, Kumārajīva begged Yao Hing to invite him to Ch'ang-ngan, but the emperor refused. But when Yao Hing asked Kumārajīva to translate Buddhist texts, the latter again insisted that Yasas be called, because, he said, he was more capable than him of fulfilling this task. Yao Hing then sent some emissaries with presents to beg Yasas to come to Ch'ang-ngan. Yasas refused the presents and let the emperor know that if he were not to be treated better than Kumārajīva, he would not accept the invitation. Struck by this proud response, the Emperor sent a new invitation and beautiful promises. Yasas arrived at Ch'ang-ngan in 408 and immediately set to work. Helped by Tchou Fo-nien, he published, as early as 410, a translation of the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptaka (T 1428) and, in 413, a translation of the Dirghāgama (T 1).¹⁵⁵⁾

All this can be reconciled with what has been said previously. However, the Chinese masters of the Avatamsaka, in the eighth century, tried to flesh out and thicken Fa-ling's biography.

I. In his Houa yen king tchouan ki (T 2073), Fa-tsang (643-712), the third patriarch of the Houa-yen sect, gives new details on the discovery, by Fa-ling, of the review in 36,000 gāthā:

The K'ai houang san pāo lōu says that formerly, „at more than 2,000 lis to the south-east of Khotan, there was the country of Tchö-kiu-kia **遮拘迦** 16. Its kings, from generation to generation, revered the Mahāyāna.

155) See the biography of Buddhayaśas in Kao seng tchouan T 2059, k. 2, p. 333c 15-334 b 25.

158) P'an **槃** of T 2073 is a fault for kia; see T 2034, p. 103 to 14, T 2060, p. 434b

16. This is the small kingdom of Karghalik located west of Khotan. The Mahasamnipāta T'oung Pao XLVIII

The illustrious monks from all countries who came to this territory were all put to the test. If they were Hīnayanistes, the king drove them out and did not keep them; if they were Mahayanists, he invited them to stop and entertained them. In the king's palace were the Sūtras of the Avatamsaka, the Mahāprajñā[-pāramitā], and the Mahāsamnipāta: each had ten myriad gāthās. The king himself guarded it and personally held the key to the gate; during the readings, he opened it and made offerings of fragrant flowers. In addition, in the chapel, he arranged all sorts of ornaments: collections of jewels, hanging flowers, fruits in season and out of season. He induces his vassals to come and worship there. Furthermore, to the south-east of this country, more than 20 li away, there was a very steep mountain where the Avatamsaka, the Mahāsamnipāta, the Vaipulya (?), the Ratnakuta, the Lañkāvatāra, the Vaipulya (?), the Sāriputradharaṇī, the Puṣpakūṭadharaṇī, the Tou-sa-lō-tsang (Tūṣārāṇīka?) 157), the Mahaprajna paramita], [the eightfold Prajñā(paramita)] and the Mahāmegha: in all twelve works each having ten myriads of gāthā. According to the laws of the kingdom, it is traditional to protect and guard them." There was, under the dynasty of the Tong Tsin, the śramane Tche Fa-ling. Of a magnanimous temperament, he secretly took an excellent resolution. He loved Mahāyāna so much that he forgot to sleep and eat it. Armed with a sack of provisions and armed with a stick, he went there [to Tchō-kiu-p'an], at the risk of his life, to search [texts] and he found the 36,000 gāthā forming the front part of the Avatamsaka, which he brought back here.

Here Fa-tsang, to flesh out the thin biography of Fa-ling, has introduced more or less legendary information concerning

calls it Tchō-kiu-kia, in Tibetan Cu gon [pan] or Ca ko ka (T 397, k. 55, p. 367 c 25). Song Yun who visited it in 519 calls it Tchou-kiu-po (T 2092, k. 5, p. 1019 a 23). Jinagupta who went there around 557 named it Tchō-kiu-kia 遮拘迦 (T 2034, k. 12, p. 103 a 14; T 2060, k. 2, p. 434 b 15; É. Chavannes, Jinagupta, T' ung Pao VI, 1905, pp. 353-354.). Hsiian-tsang who passed through it on his return from India around 644 named it Tcho-kiu-kia (2087, k. 12, p. 942 c 24) and confirms in part the information already given here: „In this country, the texts of the Mahāyānasūtra are extremely numerous, more numerous than in the other countries where the Law of the Buddha has penetrated. The copies each have ten myriads of gāthā, and there are more than ten. Degraded recensions from these [long recensions] have a very wide circulation". Karghalik is also designated by other names in Chinese historical books: cf. É. Chavannes, Voyage de Song Yun, BEFEO, III, 1903, p. 19, n. 4 of the reprint.

157) Tūṣāra is a common deformation for Tūkhāra (Tocharoi and Yue-tche): cf. P. Pelliot, Tocharien et Koutchéen, JA, 1934, I, p. 34-36. Under the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, the powerful Kaniṣka favored Buddhism and, according to a tradition collected in Kashmir by Hsiian-tsang (T 2087, k. 3, p. 887 a), carried out a complete revision of the Tripiṭaka which he made engraving on copper plates (cf. History of Indian Buddhism, p. 648). Is it this edition that we are talking about here?

¹⁵⁸⁾ T 2073, k. 1, p. 153 b 23-c 8.

the kingdom of Karghalik. He borrows them from the K'ai houang san pao lou, that is to say from the Li tai san pao ki (T 2034, k. 12, p. 103 a 10-24) published in 597 (17th year of the K'ai-houang era), and whose author himself refers to information given orally by the translator Jinagupta, his contemporary.

It was indeed in the second half of the 6th century, therefore a century and a half after Fa-ling, that the Chinese learned of the existence in Karghalik of a rich and voluminous collection of Mahāyānasūtra. This information was communicated to them by the Indian Jinagupta (528-605) 159), a kṣatriya originating from Puruṣapura (Peshawer), in Gandhāra. At the age of twenty-seven, he undertook, with ten companions, a long and perilous journey in Central Asia through Kapisa, the Himalayas, the kingdom of the Huns Hephthalites, Tash Kurgan, Khotan, the region from the Koukou-nor, the Kan-sou to finally arrive at Tch'ang-ngan in the wou-tch'eng period (559-560) of the Ming emperor of the Pei Tcheou. The texts do not say that he passed through Karghalik, but it was he who described to the Chinese the riches of the library of the king of Tchö-kiu-kia and the neighboring mountain 160). We must leave the responsibility for this discovery to him and not attribute it to Fa-ling.

2. According to the testimony of the ancient sources examined above, Fa-ling met Buddhayaśas in Khotan in 392 and returned with him to Ch'ang-ngan, via Ku-
tsang, in 408. to Buddhayaśas: it would therefore
be Buddhabhadra whom Fa-ling would have
met in Khotan and it would be with Buddhabhadra
that he would have returned to China.

惠英,

In his Ta fang kouang to houa yen king kan ying tchouan

159) Biography and dates in the Siu kao seng tchouan, T 2060, k. 2, p. 433 b sq. (translated by E. Chavannes, T'oung Pao, VI, 1905, p. 336-356); K'ai yuan che kiao mou lou T 2154, k. 7, p. 549b; Mochizuki, s.v. Jananagupta, p. 2172.

160) Cf. Siu kao seng tchouan T 2060, k. 2, p. 434b 15-23.

„Relation of the Answers of the Avatamsakasūtra", reworked text

in 783 (T 2074), Houei-ying writes:

Under the Tong Tsin (317-420), the śramane Tche Fa-ling had left the house in his youth. Animated with a pure resolution, and deploring the changes undergone by the Good Law after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, he went to the countries of the West to seek there sacred texts. Arrived in Khotan, he met there, coming from the West, a trepiṭaka, master of the Law in Vehicle unique (ekayāna), named Buddhābhaddra, in Chinese Kio-hien R. He belonged to the Sakya clan and descended from King Amṛtodana. He possessed the third fruit of the Mahāyāna corresponding to the third ground of the Bodhisattvas. He had arrived [in Khotan] with a Sanskrit text of the Avatamsaka, a text comprising more than 36,000 gāthā. When there were things he did not understand in this Sūtra, he ascended to the heaven of the Tuṣita and questioned the Bhagavat Maitreya. Fa-ling begged this trepiṭaka to go down to China to spread the Avatamsaka there. Yielding to his invitation, Buddhābhaddra arrived at the capital [Ch'ang-ngan] and settled there. But his manners did not resemble those of the vulgar: he went out and entered freely by the bays of the windows. All the monks around him were frightened and took him for Māra. The community therefore interrogated the trepiṭaka and asked him: Master of the Law, do you possess superhuman qualities? - The trepiṭaka answered them: I have already obtained them. The superiors brought together the religious community of the capital and, during an ecclesiastical procedure (dharmakarman), decided on their expulsion. The trepiṭaka taking his garment and his alms bowl, ascended into the air, manifested the transformations and, seated and flying, he arrived in the South, 楊洲, at Yang-tcheou like a bird flying in the air. All the monks were amazed and confused, but could not catch him 161).

This story does not stand up to scrutiny. It was not with Fa-ling, but with Tche-yen that Buddhābhaddra reached China. He went there via Tonkin and did not arrive at Ch'ang-ngan until around 410.

A Chinese monk from Kan-sou, Tche-yen left Tch'ang-yi (Kan-tcheou 張掖 in Kan-sou) in the month of August 400 and, in the company of Fa-hien, reached Karashar (Arsi) 162). From there he had to return to Kao-tch'ang (Turfān) to restock before resuming his journey. He arrived in Kasmir around 401 and, with Buddha-bhadra who was already there, he followed the lessons of the master in yoga Buddhasena 163). He stayed there for at least three years. In 404, he left

¹⁶¹⁾ T 2074, p. 173 c 3-16.

¹⁶²⁾ Fa hien chuan T 2085, p. 857 y.

¹⁶³⁾ Kao seng chuan T 2059, k. 3, p. 339 b. -- Cf. P. Demiéville, La Yogācārabhūmi, p. 378, n. 2.

for China taking with him Buddhahadra, to help him translate Buddhasena's Yogācārabhūmi and other Sanskrit texts. The two companions passed through the Ts'ong-ling (Onion 葱嶺 Mountains, in the Pamirs) and the Six Kingdoms (六國) to end in Tonkin (Kiao-tche 交趾, in Annamese Giao-chi) 164). From there they embarked for China. There is disagreement on the exact date of their arrival in Ch'ang-ngan 165: it was, it seems, around 410 166). At Ch'ang-ngan, Buddhahadra aroused the jealousy of the Chinese disciples of Kumārajīva. So he accepted Houei-yuan's invitation to go to southern China. Around 412, at Mount Lou, in Kiang-si, he translated Buddhasena's Yogācārabhūmi. Then he went to Nanjing where, from 413 until his death in 429, he again translated a host of Sanskrit texts and in particular the recension of the Avatamsaka in 36,000 gatha found by

Fa-ling. Thus, if Houei-ying, in his T 2074, deliberately deviates from ancient sources to make Fa-ling the traveling companion of Buddha bhadra (and no longer of Buddhayaśas), it is only for the pleasure of associate, in the same adventures, the scout and the translator of the first complete recension of the Avatamsaka.

As far as the translation is concerned, the information is precise. unanimous:

Formerly, the monk Tche Fa-ling found in Khotan the recension in 36,000 gāthā of the Avatamsaka. On the tenth day of the third moon of the fourteenth yi-hi year of Chin (April 30, 418), in Yang-tcheou, the Tao-

揚州 tch'ang sse Sie Che 謝道場寺 by the Minister of Works was founded, invited to the Indian master in dhyana Buddhahadra.

Holding the Sanskrit text in his hands, he translated the Sanskrit into Chin Chinese.

The śramane Che Fa-ye personally received the translation with a brush. The Governor of the Commandery of Wou, Mong K'ai, 孟顗 and the General of the Right Guard, Tch'ou Chou-tou 周處, ,

184) Kao seng chuan T 2059, k. 2, p. 334 c 23-24.

165) Cf. Mochizuki, *Chron.*, p. 102.

168) This is the date adopted by P. Demiéville in *l'Inde Classique*, II, p. 417.

were then the titular benefactors 187). The translation was completed on the tenth day of the sixth moon of the second yuan-hi year (July 6, 420). In all, the Sanskrit text was collated twice, and the collation was completed on the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth moon of the second yong-ch'ou year of **永初** the great Songs (April 16, 421, 188).

This translation had 60 scrolls and 34 chapters. To his By the way, we still read:

More than a hundred people, the śramanes Houei-yen¹⁸⁹), Houei-**慧義** yi17), etc., criticized and determined the text and the meaning, and compared Chinese and Sanskrit. We thus obtained an excellent text. This is why, in the Tao-tch'ang ssu, there is still a room called the Avatamsaka 171).

But if Chinese bibliography is an exact science, subject to rigorous precision, poetry does not lose its rights. So we see the Avatamsaka's Relation of Answers introduce a bit of fantasy into these long and tedious translation sessions:

At Kien-ye (Nanking), in the monastery of Sie, the Minister of work, a room had been built to keep the sacred texts. The Avatamsaka was translated there. As we were about to translate this sutra, in front of the hall, a pond suddenly appeared. Each morning, two peasants dressed in blue came out of the pond, entered the sutra hall, washed, swept, crushed the ink and did the service; when evening came, they went back to spend the night in the pond. According to tradition, the Avatamsaka was said to have stayed in the Naga palace for a long time. So they were nāga-kings who, to do honor to the translators, came to do the service in person. As a result, the name of the monastery was changed to Hing-yen ssu, **興嚴寺** Monastery of the Advent of the Avatamsaka" 172).

107) On the t'an-yue (dānapati), cf. J. Gernet, *The Economic Aspects of Buddhism*, Saigon, 1956, p. 43, 102.

168) Ch'ou san tsang ki tsi T 2145, k. 9, p. 61 at 1-8; Afterword to T 278, k. 60, p. 788b 3-9.

169) Houei-yen (363-443), a native of Yu-tcheou in **豫州** Hou-pei; he was a disciple of Kumārajīva, then worked, in Nanjing, at the southern edition of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (T 375).

170) Houei-yi, monk attached to the Jetavana monastery of Nanjing; he was also in contact with the Kaśmīrian Gunavarman who arrived in Nanjing in 431 (Kao seng tchouan T 2059, k. 3, p. 341 to 20).

171) Ch'ou san tsang ki tsi T 2145, k. 14, p. 104 at 22-24; Kao seng chuan T 2059, k. 2, p. 335 c 7-9.

¹⁷²⁾ T 2074, p. 173 c 17-22.

Translation of the recension in 40,000 gāthā. — However, the Chinese had not given up hope of one day obtaining the famous review in 100,000 gatha brought back by Nāgārjuna from the country of the Nāga. Moreover, it seems that the Indian Paramartha took malicious pleasure in confirming them in their illusions. Paramartha (500-569) 173), in Chinese Tchen-ti, was a Brahman from Ujjayini in Avanti. Converted to Buddhism, he became a missionary and, in 546, landed in Canton with 240 po□hi of manuscripts. He reached Nanjing during the 7th intercalary moon of the year 548. Emperor Leāng Wu-ti (502-549) received him royally, but Paramartha soon lost his protector and, for the rest of his life, wandered in China from south, tossed about by political events, but translating strong Sūtra wherever he was.

Asked by the Chinese about the reviews of the Avatamsaka, here is what he said to them:

Current traditions in Western countries say that the bodhisattva Nāgārjuna went to the palace of the Nāga and saw the Avatamsaka Mahācintyavimokṣasūtra there. There were three reviews. The long recension had gāthā as numerous as the dust contained in ten trichilio-megachiliocosms (trisahasramahāsāhasralokadhātu) and included chapters (parivarta) as numerous as the dust contained in a universe of four continents (caturdvīpa). The average recension numbered 49 myriads and 8,800 gāthā and included 1,200 parivarta. The short recension counted 10 myriads of gāthā and had 48 parivarta. Two of these recensions, the long and the middle, accessible [only] to the omniscient eye (?) and not being within the reach of the profane (pythagjana), remained hidden and did not circulate. The short recension is currently widespread in the Indies. This was so because the abilities [of the listeners] are dissimilar and their learning differs. Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, on the other hand, received the complete teaching of the Avatamsaka [in its long recension]; Vasubandhu and Nagarjuna saw just a substitute [the short recension in 10 myriads]. As for the little saints, although they were around them, they heard nothing; it was the great saints who, by extraordinary means, had advance knowledge of it. The successes of the holy doctrine depend on the degree of the capacities: that is obvious. Furthermore, because Buddha left this world a long time ago, the beings became vitiated: their physical forces and their intelligences declined and they no longer had the strength to retain in full this short recension [in ten myriads of gāthā] 174).

173) See the critical notice devoted to Paramartha by P. Demiéville, On the authenticity du Ta tch'eng k'i sin louen, Bulletin of the Franco-Japanese House, II, 1929, p. 15-28.

174) *Houa yen king tchouan ki*, T 2073, k. 1, p. 153 a 24- b 9.

Now here is that Jinagupta, who arrived in Ch'ang-ngan in 560, affirmed the existence in Karghalik, both in the king's palace and on the mountain near the capital, of the famous recension in ten myriads of gāthā. The news was almost immediately recorded in the Li tai san pao ki in 597, and the Memoirs of Hsiian-tsang, published by Pien-ki in 646, seemed to confirm it.

All hopes were therefore allowed, and the search resumed. They resulted in the discovery and translation of a recension, not in 100,000, but in 40,000 gāthā and 39 parivarta occupying 80 scrolls. Here we have the direct testimony of Fa-tsang who collaborated on this translation:

Śikṣānanda 175), of the monastery of Fo-cheou-ki sseu 佛授記寺 in the divine capital (Lo-yang) of the Great Tcheou¹⁷⁶), in Chinese of the T'ang Hio-hi, is a native of Khotan; his knowledge is vast and extensive and his ideal is to be useful to sentient beings. He is versed in the Large and the Small Vehicle and, also, in the treatises of the heretics. The Celestial Empress T'ien Heou¹⁷⁷) brilliantly spreads the light of the Buddha and worships the Mahāyāna. In the old translation of the Avatamsaka, the places (ch'ou, sthāna) and the assemblies (houei, paṣad) [where the Sūtra had been preached] were not complete¹⁷⁸). Therefore, learning

175) Śikṣānanda was born in Khotan, in 652. He arrived in Lo-yang in 695 and returned to Khotan in 704. In 707 or 708, he was recalled to court by an imperial decree: he was received there with the greatest honours, but very shortly afterwards he fell ill and died in 710, aged 59. Cf. Kan ying tchouan T 2074, k. 4, p. 176b4; K'ai yuan che kiao mou lou T 2154, k. 9, p. 566 has 13; Tcheng yuan sin ting che kiao mou lou T 2157, k. 13, p. 866b16; Song kao seng chuan T 2061, k.2, p. 718 c 19; Fo tsou t'ong ki, T 2035, k. 39, p. 370 b 6.

176) From October 16, 690 to March 2, 705 the title of the dynasty (kouo-hao) of T'ang was changed to Tcheou (cf. Moule, Rulers of China, p. 56).

177) Empress Wu Tsō-t'ien

武則天

or Wou Heou¹⁷⁷), in 684,

had deposed his son, the Emperor Tchong-tsung, then had assumed in 690 the imperial power in title. Tchong-tsung did not return to the throne until 705.

178) The version of Buddhahadra (T 278) is sometimes called Ts'i tch'ou pa houei t 處八會 „Seven places and eight assemblies" because the Buddha preaches there the Avatamsaka □ eight assemblies gathered in seven different places. The version of Śikṣānanda (T 279) divides the sixth assembly of the previous version into two and thus obtains nine assemblies eight: this is why it is called Ts'i ich'ou kicou houei, Seven 七 places and nine assemblies": cf. Houa yen king tchouan ki T 2073, k. 1, p. 153 c 11-12.

that in the distance there was a Sanskrit text of this Sūtra in Khotan, the empress sent messengers to seek information and to invite a translator. Thus Śikṣānanda, taking the Sūtra with him, arrived at the imperial palace in the yi-wei Z year, the first of the tcheng-cheng period of T'ien Heou 證聖 (695); it was in the eastern capital (Lo-yang), at the monastery of Pien-k'ong ssu of the Imperial Palace, that he translated the 新翻大方廣華嚴經 Avatamsakasūtra. T'ien Heou deigned to attend the sittings in person; she composed the preface 179) and, handling the brush herself, she wrote the title at the head. A southern Indian, śramane Bodhiruci¹⁸⁰⁾, and śramane Yi-tsing¹⁸¹⁾ recited the Śāṅskrit text together; afterwards, the text was handed over to the śramanes Fu-li 復禮 1682), Fa-tsang 法藏 182), etc. The translation was finished at the monastery of Fo-cheou-ki sseu, the year ki-hai 己亥, second of the period cheng-li 聖曆 (699) 184).

The three translations of the — Avatamsaka. In summary, we currently have two Chinese translations and one Tibetan translation of the Avatamsaka: 1.

T 278 Ta fang kouang to houa yen king, 34 parivarta en 60 rolls. This translation was executed by Buddhahadra, at Nanking, from 418 to 420, on a Sanskrit recension in 36,000 gāthā discovered in Khotan by Fa-ling between 392 and 408.

179) This is preserved: T 279, k. I, p. 1 y.

180) Bodhiruci, originally Dharmaruci, was born in 572 into a Brahmanic family in southern India. He converted to Buddhism in 631 and arrived in Ch'ang-ngan in 693. He worked at Lo-yang from 693 to 706, then at Ch'ang-ngan from 706 to 713. He died at Lo-yang in 727, aged 156 (sic). See his biography in K'ai yuan che kiao mou lou T 2154, k. 9, p. 570a-571a; Song kao seng chuan T 2061, k. 3, p. 720 b-c.

181) In 695, Yi-tsing had just returned to China after a trip to India which had lasted 25 years (671-695). The Empress went to welcome him in person on his return and established him by decree in the Fo-cheou-ki sseu mentioned here. Yi-tsing first worked with Śikṣānanda; then, from the Kicou-che period (700-701), he devoted himself alone to his translations: cf. Song kao seng chuan T 2061, k. 1, p. 710b 15-23.

182) Fou-li was a Chinese from King-tch'ao. He worked at Ch'ang-ngan and Lo-yang from about 681 to 699. He had become famous for his Che men pien ho louen (T 2111), published in 681, in which he discussed ten questionable points raised in matters of Buddhist exegesis by the master of the crown prince K'iu'an Wou-eul 權無二 under the title of Che tien ki yi, 經題疑, Examination of the doubts concerning the Buddhist books": cf. K'ai yuan che kiao mou lou T 2154, k. 9, p. 564b; Song kao seng chuan T 2061, k. 17p. 812 c.

183) Fa-tsang, the author of this notice. See above, section VIII, at the beginning.

184) Hua yen king tchouan ki of Fa-tsang, T 2073, k. 1, p. 155 at 10-19.

2. T 279 Ta fang kouang fo houa yen king, 39 parivarta in 80 rolls. This translation was executed by Śikṣānanda, at Lo-yang, from 695 to 699, on a Sanskrit recension in 40,000 gāthā brought from Khotan by Śikṣānanda in 695.

3. Ōtani Kanjur Catalog n° 761 (Ōtani ed. of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, vol. 25-26): Sans rgyas Phal po che žes bya ba Šin tu rgyas pa chen pohi mdo, 45 parivarta. This translation was executed, in the first quarter of the ninth century AD 185), by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi and Ye-ses-sde.

The Ts'ing-leang chan and the Chinese versions. — As we saw at the beginning of this section, the Wou-t'ai shan or Ts'ing-leang shan derives its titles of nobility from a passage in the Chinese versions of the Avatamsaka (T 278, k. 29, p. 590 a 3-5; T 279, k. 45, p. 241 b 20-23) where it is said: „In the northeastern region, there is a Bodhisattva residence named Ts'ing-leang chan. In the past, the Bodhisattvas always lived there. There now is a Bodhisattva called Mañjuśrī. He has an entourage of myriad of Bodhisattva and always he preaches

the Law”. It is to this passage that historians and chroniclers of the Avatamsaka and the Wou-t'ai.

Referring to it, Fa-tsang (T 2073, k. 1, p. 157 a 8-10) quotes the passage freely. Houei-siang (T 2098, k. 1, p. 1092 c 22-24) reproduces verbatim the translation of Buddhabhadra (T 278, l.c.). Yen-yi (T 2099, k. 1, p. 1103 b 18-21) quotes verbatim the translation of Śikṣānanda (T 279, l.c.). The quotation adopted by Houei-ying (T 2074, p. 175 b 21-23) is much freer and adds a precision which, in this case, was not negligible: „In the land of Tchen-tan (C̄hina) , northeast, etc.”.

However, I think I can affirm that the mention of Ch'ing-

185) Cf. J. W. de Jong, The Episode of Asita in the Lalitavistara, Asiatica (Festschrift F. Weller), Leipzig, 1954, p. 312 in note.

leang chan and Mañjuśrī in the passage in question is a Chinese interpolation and was not part of the original Avatamsaka recension.

The falsification of the Avatamsaka. The mention of Ch'ing-leang chan is found in the Chinese translations of the chapter entitled P'ou sa tchou tch'ou (T278, k. 29, p. 589 c - 590 b; T 279, k. 45, p. 241 b-c). To this chapter corresponds, in the Tibetan version, the leḥu entitled Byan chub sems dpaḥi gnas (OKC 761, vol. Li, p. 275 a 8-277 a 3).

As the title indicates, it deals with residences or stations occupied in the past by Bodhisattvas (pūrvakāle bodhisattvadyāsītāni sthānāni). The chapter has two distinct parts:

1. Eight residences constituted by mythical mountains located in the four main regions (dis) and the four intermediate regions (vidis) of our universe with four continents. For each of these residences, the text mentions four things:

- To. the region (diś or vidiś),
- b. the name of the mythical mountain,
- vs. the name of the main Bodhisattva who inhabits it,
- d. the number of Bodhisattvas around him.

2. Fourteen residences located in India itself and for which the text only mentions:

- To. the name of the Indian district (for example: Mathurā),
- b. the name of the residence itself (for example: Samtoṣani guhā).

Only the first eight residences interest us here. Here are some the Tibetan text with an English translation:

1. Sar phyogs logs na snon
tshe byan chub sems dpaḥ bźugs
bźugs paḥi ri Drañ sroñ ḥbyun ba
žes bya baḥi yod de. de la byan
chub sems dpaḥ Rdo rjeḥi dpal
žes bya ba byan chub sems
dpahi ḥkhor sum brgya dañ
ldan pa chos ston to.

2. Lho phyogs logs na snon
byan chub sems dpaḥ bźugs
bźugs paḥi ri Dpal gyi phun
po žes bya ba yod de. de la
byan chub sems dpaḥ Chos kyi
blo gros ses bya ba byan chub
sems dpahi ḥkhor lña brgya dan
ldan pa chos ston to.

3. Nub phyogs logs na snon
byan chub sems dpaḥ bźugs
bźugs paḥi ri Rdo rjeḥi hod
hphro can žes bya ba yod de.
de la byan chub sems dpaḥ
Sen gehi hgros hgro ba žes bya
ba byan chub sems dpahi ḥkhor
sum brgya dan ldan pa chos
ston to.

4. Byan phyogs logs na snon
byan chub sems dpaḥ bźugs
bźugs paḥi ri Spos kyi phuñ po
žes bya ba yod de. de la byan
chub sems dpaḥ Spos kyi glan
po žes bya ba byan chub sems

1. In the eastern region
(pūrvasyām disī), there is Mount
Birth of Hermits (rsyutpāda) once
inhabited by bodhisattvas. It
is there that Bodhisattva
Vajraśrī, surrounded by 300
bodhisattvas, preaches the Law.

2. In the southern region
(dakṣiṇasyām diśi), there is
Mount Peak of Beauty (śrīkūṭa)
once inhabited by bodhisattvas.
It is there that the bodhisattva
Dharmamātī, surrounded by 500
bodhisattvas, preaches the Law.

3. In the western region
(paścimāyām diśi), there is Mount
Diamond Shard (vajrārcis) once
inhabited by bodhisattvas. It
is there that the bodhisattva
Simhavikrāntagāmin, surrounded
by 300 bodhisattvas, preaches
the Law.

4. In the northern region
(uttarasyām diśi), there is Mount
Peak of Perfumes (gandhakūṭa)
once inhabited by bodhisattvas.
It is there that the bodhisattva
Gandhahastin, surrounded

<p>dpahi ḥkhor stoñ phrag gsum dan ldan pa chos ston to.</p>	<p>of 3,000 bodhisattvas, preaches the Law.</p>
<p>5. Sar phyogs logs na snon byan chub sems dpah bźugs bźugs paḥi ri Spañ ri źes bya ba yod de. de la byan chub sems dpah Hjam dpal źes bya ba byan chub sems dpahi ḥkhor ston phrag bcu dan ldan pa chos ston to.</p>	<p>5. In the eastern region (pūrvasyām disi) there is Mount Grassy Mountain (śādvalapar- vata)¹⁸⁶) once inhabited by bodhisattvas. This is where Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, surrounded by 10,000 Bodhisattvas, preaches the Law.</p>
<p>6. Byan dan sar gyi phyogs mtshams logs na snon byan chub sems dpah bźugs bźugs pahi ri Rgya mtsho chen bzihi gnas Rdo rjeḥi ri źes bya ba yod de. de la byan chub sems dpah Chos kyis ḥphags pa źes bya ba byan chub sems dpahi ḥkhor brgya phrag bcu gñis dan ldan pa chos ston to.</p>	<p>6. In the mid-northeast region (uttarapūrvas-yām vidisi) there is the mount called po, "Diamond mountain lying in the four great oceans" (caturmahāsamudrastha vajraparvata) and once inhabited by bodhisattva It is there that the bodhisattva Dharmodgata, surrounded by 1,200 bodhisattvas, preaches the Law.</p>
<p>7. Sar loai phyogs mtshams logs na snon byan chub sems dpah bźugs bźugs paḥi ri Mchod rten źes bya ba yod de. de la byan chub sems dpah Lhahi khuñ po źes bya ba byan chub sems dpahi ḥkhor sto□ dañ ldan pa chos ston to</p>	<p>7. In the mid-southeast region (pūrvadakṣinasyām vidisi) there is the Temple Mount (caityaparvata) once inhabited by bodhisattvas. It is there that Bodhisattva Devacuḍa, surrounded by 1,000 bodhisattvas, preaches the Law.</p>

¹⁸⁶) Span-ri means well, „a grassy hill" (cf. Jäschke, Dictionary, p. 329 b), and the equivalence span - śadvala is attested (cf. J. Nobel, Wörterbuch zum Suvarnaprabhasa, Leiden, 1950, p.131).

8. Lho dan nub ky phyogs
mtshams logs na sron byan
chub sems dpah bžugs bžugs
pahi ri Hod ces bya ba yod
de. de la byan chub sems dpah
Bzañ poñi dpal žes bya ba byan
chub sems dpahi ħkhor ston
phrag gsum dan bdan pa chos
ston to.

8. In the intermediate region
of the south-west (dakṣiṇapaścimāyām
vidisi), there is Mont
Éclat (prabhāparvata) once
inhabited by bodhisattvas. It is
there that Bodhisattva Bhadraśri,
surrounded by 3,000
bodhisattvas, preaches the Law.

9. Nub dan byan gi¹⁸⁷) phyogs
mtshams logs na s[□]on byan chub
sems dpah bžugs bžugs pahi ri
Spos kyi nad can žes bya ba
yod de. de la byan chub sems
dpah Spos kyi hod zer rab tu
hgyed pa zes bya ba byan chub
sems dpahi ħkhor stoñ phrag
Ina dan ldan pa chos ston to.

9. In the mid-northwestern
region (paścimot-tarasyām
vidiṣi), there is the Mount of
Intoxicating Perfumes (Gandhamadana)
once inhabited by
bodhisattvas. It is there that the
bodhisattva Gandharaśmipramukta,
surrounded by 5,000 bodhisattvas,
preaches the Law.

This text is obviously interpolated because it lists nine regions
whereas a flat surface has only eight (188). The eastern region
(No. 1) was already occupied by Bodhisattva Vajraśrī.
It is therefore later that we added (sub 5°) Mañjusrī.

The two Chinese versions also have an extra bodhisattva, as
appears from the following concordance, where S-T designates the
Sanskrit-Tibetan recension, Chin. 1 the Chinese translation of
Buddhabhadra (T 278), and Chin. 2 the Chinese translation of
Sikṣānanda (T 279).

187) Gap to be filled since it is an "intermediate region" (phyogs mtshams
Logs vidis).

188) See above, note 42. =

		Mountain	Bodhisattva	Region
1	S-T	R̥ṣyutpāda	Vajraśrī	East
	Chin. 1	仙人起山	金剛勝	East
	Chin. 2	仙人山	金剛勝	East
2	S-T	Śrīkūṭa	Dharmamati	South
	Chin. 1	勝樓閣	英慧	South
	Chin. 2	勝峯	英慧	South
3	S-T	Vajrārcis	Simhavikrāntagāmin	West
	Chin. 1	金剛炤	無畏師子行	West
	Chin. 2	金剛炤	精進無畏行	Ouest
4	S-T	Gandhakūṭa	Gandhahastin	North
	Chin. 1	香聚	香象	North
	Chin. 2	香積	香象	North
5	S-T	Śāḍvalaparvata	Mañjuśrī	East
	Chin. 1	清涼山	文殊師利	Northeast
	Chin. 2	清涼山	文殊師利	Northeast
6	S-T	Caturmahasamudrastha Vajraparvata	Dharmodgata	Northeast
	Chin. 1	四大海中枳怛曇無竭		not mentioned
	Chin. 2	海中金剛山 法起		pas mentioned
7	S-T	caityaparvata	Devacūḍa	South East
	Chin. 1	枝堅固	天冠	South East
	Chin. 2	支提山	天冠	South East
8	S-T	Prabhāparvata	Bhadraśrī	South West
	Chin. 1	樹提光明山	賢首	South West
	Chin. 2	光明山	賢勝	South West
9	S-T	Gandhamadana	Gandharasmipramukta	North West
	Chin. 1	香風山	香光明	North West
	Chin. 2	香風山	香光	North West

This agreement calls for the following observations:

1. There is one bodhisattva too many since 9 are cited there are only 8 regions.

2. There is perfect agreement between the three translations with regard to 7 bodhisattvas: 1. Vajraśrī in the East, 2. Dharmamati in the South, 3. Simhavikrāntagāmin in the West, 4. Gandhahastin in the North, 5. Devacuḍa in the South-East, 6. Bhadraśrī in the South-West, 7. Gandharaśmipramukta in the North-West.

3. There is disagreement regarding two bodhisattvas: Mañjuśrī and Dharmodgata.

a) S-T places Mañjuśrī at Śādvalaparvata, Grassy Mountain" in the Eastern region where the place is already occupied by Vajraśrī. Both Chinese versions place Mañjuśrī in Ts'ing-leang chan in the Northeast region.

This is where the interpolation lies because there is disagreement regarding the mountain: Śādvalaparvata, which means grassy mountain, has nothing in common with Ts'ing-leang chan which means „Cool mountain" and would be said in Sanskrit Śītaparvata or Śītalaparvata and, in Tibetan, Ri gran ba 189).

In the minds of the Chinese, Ts'ing-leang chan designates a geographical place, in this case Wou-t'ai chan at Chan-si. But the context proves that the Avatamsaka only intends to enumerate the mythical mountains of the eight cardinal points such as are found in all the literatures of India 190).

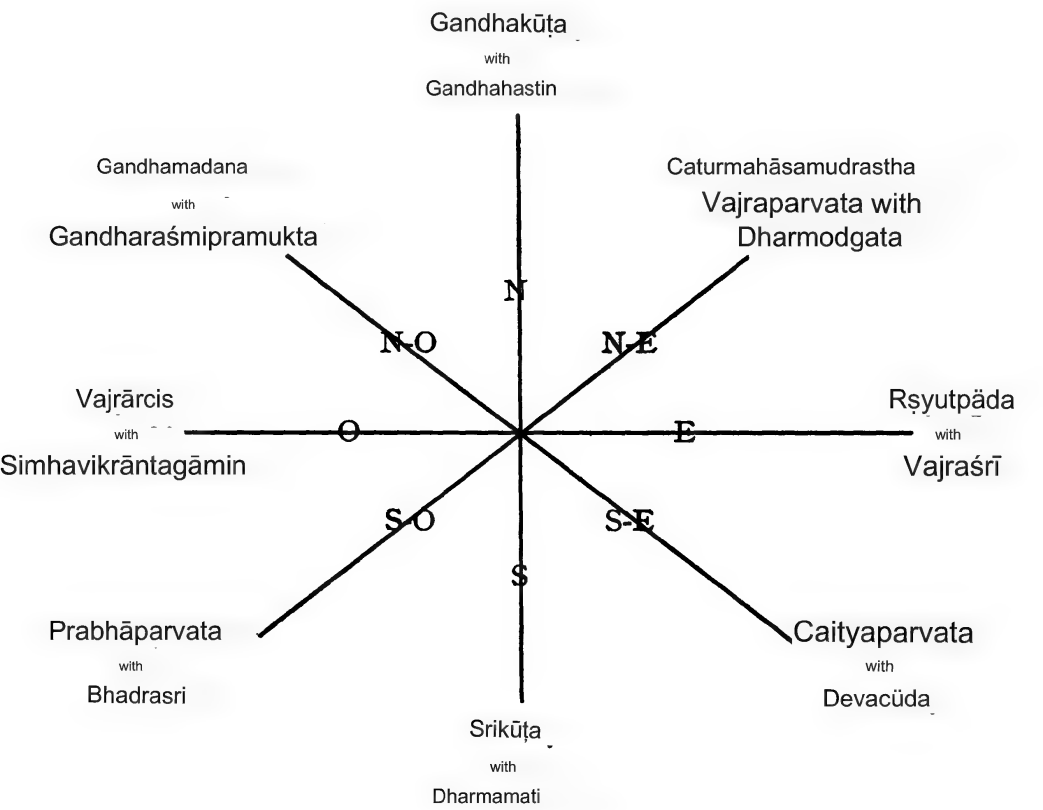
Finally, it is difficult to see why the Indian editors of the Avatamsaka would have placed Mañjuśrī in China. Since Aśoka, the Indians have gotten into the habit of lecturing their neighbors, but that is no reason to hand over a bodhisattva to strangers.

189) Cf. Mahāvīyutpatti n° 1908 and 214; Nobel, Wörterbuch..., p.

25. 190) For example Kirfel, Kosmographie der Inder, p. 95 et seq., 218 et seq.

b) The introduction of Mañjuśrī somewhat upset the bodhisattva Dharmodgata residing on the Vajraparvata at the bottom of the four oceans. S-T got away with placing or rather keeping him in the Northeast region. As for the two Chinese versions, they purely and simply removed the mention of the region.

It follows from this examination that the mention of Mañjuśrī and his mountain (either Śāḍvalaparvata or Ts'ing-leang chan) is an interpolation and that the original recension included only eight bodhisattvas and eight mountains distributed as follows:



Interpolation date. Absent — from the original text, the mention of Mañjuśrī in Ts'ing-leang chan is found in the two Chinese translations of the Avatamsaka, that of Buddhābhadrā executed between 418 and 420 and that of Śikṣānanda executed between 695 and 699. saw it above, from the beginning of the 5th century, so at the time of the first translation, the Wou-t'ai was already con-

stunned by the Chinese as the habitat of Mañjuśrī. It is therefore not impossible that it was Buddhahadra and his collaborators Houei-yen, Houei-yi, etc., who introduced the mention of Ts'ing-leang shan into the Avatamsaka. But it is very unlikely, because at that time the Avatamsaka was little known in China and its prestige was not such that an interpolation would have seemed necessary.

It was only during the 6th and 7th centuries that the great schools claiming Avatamsaka and that this Sūtra acquired unquestionable authority.

At the beginning of the yong-p'ing period (508) of the emperor Siuan Wou Tit of the Pei Wei, two Indian masters, Bodhiruci and Ratnamati, came to settle in Lo-yang and, at the invitation of the emperor, performed, first separately, then together, a translation of Vasubandhu's Daśabhūmivākyāna (T 1522). It was then that the school of the Ti-louen-tsong Or of the **地論宗** Treaty of the Daśabhūmi was formed; the Daśabhūmika was one of the sections of the Avatamsaka. At Lo-yang itself, the school soon split into two branches. Tao-tch'ong, disciple of Bodhiruci and chief of the branch of the North, made himself famous by his virtues and gained for his ideas more than ten thousand adherents. The southern branch which claimed Ratnamati was illustrated by Houei-kouang (468-537) and his disciple **法上** Fa-chang (495-580) who developed great literary activity.

In the 7th century, the school of Ti-louen-tsong was absorbed by the school of Houa- **華嚴宗** yen-tsong or Avatamsaka proper. Its founder and its first patriarch Tou-chouen (557-640), **杜順** in the Fa-chouen religion, conciliated the good graces of the emperor of the T'ang, T'ai-tsong, who reigned from 626 to 649. made famous by his miracles and passed for an incarnation of Mañjuśrī.

We have already mentioned above¹⁹¹⁾ the formidable literary activity deployed in the seventh century around the Avatamsaka by Tche-yen (602-668) and Fa-tsang (643-712) who were respectively the second and third patriarchs of The sect. At this time, the cult of Mañjuśrī at Wou-t'ai chan was in full swing. One feverishly looked for the long recensions of the Avatamsaka where the presence of the great Bodhisattva on the Chinese mountain could have been expressly defined. The recension in 40,000 gāthā discovered in Khotan by the envoys of Empress Wu Tsö-t'ien and brought to Lo-yang by Sikṣānanda contained nothing of the sort. Mañjuśrī was not among the eight bodhisattvas located by the Avatamsaka at the four cardinal points and the four intermediate regions of the Inhabited Continent. It was necessary to repair such a regrettable "oversight". This was the task assigned to the Bodhiruci, Yi-tsing, Fou-li, Fa-tsang and the whole team of readers, translators, scribes and verifiers gathered around of the empress in the Fo-cheou-ki ssu of Lo-yang. A passage was introduced in the translation defining the present presence of Mañjuśrī in the North-East region, at Mount Ts'ing-leang.

To do this, it was necessary to expel Dharmodgata from the Northeast region where he was originally located and relegate him to an unmentioned region. It was also necessary to retouch accordingly the old version of the Avatamsaka established in 418-420 by Buddha-bhadra on the recension in 36,000 gathā of Fa-ling. Finally, in order to remove all trace of the interpolation, it was important to rework the original Sanskrit which had served as the basis for Sikṣānanda's translation. This original having disappeared, we do not know how it was modified. Quite awkwardly, it seems. Because the Tibetan version of the beginnings of the 9th century which is its distant echo places

¹⁹¹⁾ See above, note 128,

Mañjuśrī not in the northeast region, but in the eastern one, already occupied by Vajraśrī. Moreover, it assigns it as a mountain a Span-ri (Śādvalaparvata) which has nothing in common either with the Ts'ing-leang chan or with the Wu t'ai shan.

3. The Indians at Wou-t'ai chan.

Be that as it may, the Chinese sincerely believed in the presence of Mañjuśrī at Wou-t'ai, and their faith was so strong that it eventually spread to the Indians, but this was not until the end of the 7th century.

In his Relation on Buddhism sent from the South Seas, that is to say from Śrīvijaya, in 692, Yi-tsing, as fervent a patriot as he was a convinced Buddhist, complacently underlines the prestige enjoyed by T'ang China: „In the five Indies, is there anyone who does not admire him? Within the four seas, who does not respectfully receive his decrees? The Indians say that Mañjuśrī is currently present in this country (China)" 192). merits (punya): we must therefore respect and admire this country" 194).

Three years later, Yi-tsing was to participate, in the circumstances that we know, in the "translation" of the Avatamsaka. His assertion would therefore not carry much weight if it did not was confirmed, on the Indian side, by non-suspicious testimonies.

These are first of all Indian texts affirming the presence of Mañjuśrī in China:

¹⁹²⁾ T 2125, k. 3, p. 224 c 15-17. Cf. J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, Oxford, 1896, p. 136.

¹⁹³⁾ Name of a province which was constituted by Chouen in the current Chan-si and included Wu-t'ai chan.

¹⁹⁴⁾ T 2125, k. 4, p. 228b14; Takakusu, l.c., p. 169.

1. The Mañjuśrīdharmaratnagarbhadhāraṇīsūtra is clear and formal. The Buddha there declares to Bodhisattva Vajraguhyaka:

After my Nirvāṇa, in the region north-east of Jambudvīpa (India), there is a country called Ta Tchen-na (Mahacina). In this country there is a mountain called Wou-ting (Pañcasikha Wou-t'ai). = Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta will go to this residence and preach the Law to sentient beings there 195).

This dharani was translated in the fourth year of the king-long period (710), at the monastery of Si-tch'ong-西崇福寺 fou sse of Lo-yang by Bodhiruci 196) who had also participated in the translation of the Avatamsaka in 695 -699.

It would therefore be necessary to verify the authenticity of such a precise and formal reference to Wu-t'ai chan. Unfortunately, the original Sanskrit of the dhāraṇī has not reached us and, as far as I know, no Tibetan translation was executed. All means of control being lacking, we are forced to accept with closed eyes the sole testimony of the Chinese translation. We only know that it was performed by Bodhiruci on a Sanskrit original (fan-pen) read out by Prajñāgupta.

2. On the other hand, we read in the original Sanskrit a verse from the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (ch. 36 Rājavyākaraṇaparivarta, v. 568) where it is said about the Mahācina (China):

Bodhisattvo mahādhīraḥ Mañjughoṣo mahādyutiḥ,
tasmin dese tu sākṣād vai tiṣṭhate bālarūpiṇaḥ 197).

„In this country (China), there is presently, in the form of a young man, the bodhisattva Mañjughoṣa, very firm and of great brilliance".

195) T 1185 A, p. 791 c 11-14; T 1185 B, p. 798 a 26 — b 2.

180) Kai yuan che kiao mou lou T 2154, k. 9, p. 569 c 7. See also Siu kou kin yi king t'ou ki T 2152, p. 371 c 20.

197) Edited as an appendix in K. P. Jayaswal, Imperial History of India, Lahore, 1934, P. 41, 1. 17.18.

This verse is all the more interesting since it is part of a chapter not appearing in the Chinese version of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (T 1191) executed under the Song by T'ien-si-tsai 田思退 between 980 and 1000. It proves, if need be, that at this relatively late period, the Indians placed *Mañjuśrī* in China.

A small detail may have contributed to this conviction. We have seen above how the Khotanese legends relating to *Mañ-juśrī* were transplanted to Nepal because, at a given moment, the toponym *Li-yul*, which originally designated Khotan, was taken for Nepal. We have already pointed out the collusion that has always existed between *Mañjuśrī*, the soft-spoken bodhisattva, and the king of the Gandharvas, the god-musician *Pañcaśikha*. Now the latter was located on the borders of Kaśmir, while his eldest son (his *jyeṣṭha-putra* or *kumāra*) had his residence in the Himalayan district of *Cinabhukti*, where *Kaṇiṣka* had confined his Chinese hostages (198). Between *Cinabhukti*, an Indian district, and *Cina* simply designating China, confusion was easy, and all the Chinese and Tibetan translators of the *Mahāmāyā* fell into the trap (199).

From the end of the 7th century, the *Wou-t'ai shan* became a center of international pilgrimage, and the Indians were the first to go there.

1. *Buddhapālita* in 676. — He was a Kaśmirian monk, known for his translation of an *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* (T 967). In the preface of 689 appended to this translation (200), we read:

In the first year of the *yi-fong* period (676), the śrāmaṇe *Buddha-pālita*, of Brahmanic origin, came from the countries of the West to the land of the Han and *Wu-t'ai shan*. Having prostrated himself on the ground with his five limbs, he said, facing the mountain and touching the ground with the top of his head: „Since the *Nirvāṇa* of the *Tathāgata*, all the saints have disappeared; only the great sage *Mañjuśrī*, fixed on this mountain, attracts crowds and teaches the bodhisattvas.

188) See above, note 8. 198)

Cf. S. Lévi, *The Geographical Catalog of the Yakṣa*, JA, 1915, p. 85 of the reprint.

200) T 967, p. 349 b 2—c 5.

Alas! I Palita, when I was born, I encountered the eight inopportune conditions (akṣaṇa) and I never saw the face of the saint. So I came from afar, through Quicksand, on purpose to visit it. I humbly beg P'ou-fou (Mañjuśrī), the great benevolent and the great compassionate, to show himself to me." Having said these words, he wept sadly and shed tears. Turning towards the mountain, he prostrated his head. When he straightened her up, he suddenly saw an old man, coming out of the mountain, coming towards him.

The old man speaking the language of the Brahmins (Sanskrit) said to the monk: „ Master of the Law, for love of the doctrine, you pursue the sacred vestiges and, without fear of fatigue, you have come a long way in search of them. However, here in the land of the Han, beings commit many sins and the clerics themselves often violate the discipline of defenses. Only the Buddhōṣṇiṣavijayadhāraṇīsūtra 201) can destroy all evil deeds of beings. But I do not know, O Teacher, whether you have come here with this Sūtra."

The monk replied, "The poor monk that I am has simply come to visit: I have arrived without the Sūtra".

The old man continued, "Since you have come without the sutra, you have come in vain and uselessly. Even if you saw Mañju, you wouldn't recognize him. Master, therefore, return to the countries of the West to take this Sūtra so that it may subsequently spread in the land of the Han. By doing so, you will honor all the saints, you will greatly help sentient beings by saving them from darkness, and you will recognize the blessings of the Buddha. Master, return here with the Sūtra, and your servant will then show you the place where Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is."

When the monk heard these words, he could not control his joy. Repri- weeping, he bowed wholeheartedly and respectfully. But to the moment he raised his head, he no longer saw the old

man. Surprised, the monk redoubled his devotion. Resolutely and sincerely, he returned to the Western countries, took the Buddhōṣṇiṣavijayadhāraṇīsūtra and returned to China. The second year of the yong-chouen period

永淳

(683), he arrived at the western capital (Ch'ang-ngan). He related his whole story to the great emperor 202). The great emperor took his text (Sanskrit) and locked it up in his palace. Then he invited the Master of the Law trepiṭaka

Je-tchao (Divākara), and he ordered Tou Hing-k'ai head

of the office of stewardship of guests at the court of ceremonial towards

foreigners 208), and others to translate this Sūtra 204 together). Finally the emperor

201) Dharani having the effect of purifying all evil destinies" (sarvadur-gatipariśodhani). We have eight Chinese translations of it (T 967 to 974), two Tibetan translations (OKC 198, 609) and a Chinese commentary by Fa-tch' ong (T 1803).

202) This is the Emperor Kao-tsong who reigned from 649 to

683. 20) Cf. R. des Rotours, Traite des officials, Leyde, 1948, p. 414.

204) This passage is not clear. There were in fact two translations: first that of Tou Hing-k'ai (T 968) ended on the 5th day of the first month of the fourth year of the period yi-fong, 20 February 679 (cf. K'ai yuan che kiao mou lou, T 2154, k. 9, p. 564 @ 23); then, that of the Central Indian monk Divākara (T 969) dated the 22nd day of the 5th month of the first year yong-chouen 永淳, July 2nd and 682 (cf. K'ai yuan che kiao mou lou

assigned to the monk (Buddhapālita) thirty pieces of silk, but the text of the Sūtra was locked up in the palace, with prohibition to leave it.

The monk, weeping sadly, said to the emperor: „Poor monk that I am, I sacrificed my life and, yielding to an order, I went afar to fetch this Sutra. My hope is to save sentient beings and rescue them from pain. I don't dream of riches and I'm not interested in fame. Please return the text of the sutra to me so that it may spread and all beings share in its benefit." So

the emperor kept the [Chinese] translation of the sutra and returned the monk sanskrit text. The monk in possession of the Sanskrit text went to the monastery of Si-ming sseu pet, after having inquired, found a Chinese monk versed in Sanskrit: Chouen-tcheng. He asked permission to translate with him, and the emperor gave in to his request. Then the monk, in the presence of all the bhadantas, made a new translation with Chouen-tcheng 205). When it was finished, he took the Sanskrit text with him and went to Wu-t'ai shan. He entered the mountain and, at the present time, has not yet come out.

Steeped in legend as it is, the tale of Buddhapalita's ascension was quickly clichéd. It is reproduced in full in the excellent Tche-cheng catalogs published in 730 206). It is also found in the Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled under the Song between 982 and 988 207), as well as in the Traditions developed on the Ts'ing-leang published by Yen-yi in 1060 208). Mention is made of it in an inscription from Touen-houang 209), in the Hymn of the Wu-t'ai shan of the end of the eighth century 210), as well as in the travel diary of the Japanese pilgrim Ennin.

T 2154, k. 9, p. 564 a 1). The emperor was unhappy with the first translation because Tou Hing-k'ai, a Chinese from Ch'ang-ngan who knew Sanskrit, had refrained from using the taboo characters.

205) This was the third in chronological order (T 967).

208) Siu t'ou ki T 2152, p. 369a; K'ai yuan che kiao mou lou, T 2154, k. 9, p. 565 y.

207) Song kao seng chuan T 2061, k. 2, p. 717 c.

208) Kuang ts'ing leang tchouan T 2099, k. 2, p. 1111 a-b, section titled: „Entrance to Buddhapalita in the Diamond Cave". This cave is also mentioned in the Kou ts'ing leang tchouan of Fa-tsang (T 2098, k. 1, p. 1095 a 1 et seq.), but Fa-tsang († 712) does not mention the ascent of Buddhapalita. This silence is rather disturbing. 209) Cf.

P. 504.

210) Touen-houang manuscript reproduced in Tsukamoto Zenryū, Chinese Buddhism in the Middle Period of the T'ang Dynasty, Mem. Tōhō Bunka Gakuin, IV, Kyōto, 1933, 2.

2. Bodhisena in 735. — According to the official Japanese history, on the 8th moon of 736, an embassy sent to the T'ang brought back three T'ang men and a Persian, who presented themselves at court on the 10th moon. The monk of the T'ang Tao-siuan and the Brahmin monk Bodhi were given seasonal clothes. On the 4th moon of 751, a decree appointed the master of the law Bodhi director of the Samgha to replace Gyōgi.

On this historical basis came to be grafted, in the 12th century, a legend attributing to Bodhi the introduction in Japan of dances and čame music. The Brahmin Bodhi, originally from Kapilavastu in South India, accompanied by master Buttetsu, 師佛哲 a musician from the kingdom of Čampa (Rinyu) in North India, had gone to Wou-t'ai chan to adore Mañ - juśrī. An old man having told them that Mañjuśrī had incarnated in Japan in the person of Gyōgi Bosatsu, they had won this country where they were received by Gyōgi and attended a Todai-ji ceremony in 752.

M. Demiéville has shown that, if the existence of the Brahmin Bodhi cannot be doubted, his companion čam Buttetsu was invented from scratch and baptized perhaps with one of the names of the Čampa then known in Japan 211).

3. Amoghavajra in 770. — Of a family from North India or possibly from Samarkand, Amoghavajra 212) was born in Ceylon in 705. At the age of 10, he arrived in China with his uncle. He was converted to the Buddhist religion by Vajrabodhi (671-741), and entered orders at the age of 15. Initiated by his master in Buddhist Tantra, he worked in Lo-yang from 723. From 741 to 746 he traveled to Ceylon and perhaps to India, where he collected a large collection of

*11) P. Demiéville, Came music in Japan, in Asian Studies, Paris 1925, T. 1, p. 208-213.

818) Cf. Chou Yi-liang, Tantrism in China, HJAS, VIII, 1945, p. 297.

Sutra and Sastra. Back in China, he worked at Chao-tcheou, Ho-si and Wou-Wei, finally settling in the capital, Ch'ang-ngan (756), where he was all-powerful at court. He died in 774. 4.

His visit to Wu-t'ai took place in the fifth year of the ta-li period (770) 213, during the reign of Emperor Tai-tsong (762-777).

代宗 Already in 766, the monastery of Kin-ko ssu Golden **金閣寺** „Pavilion" had been built in Wu-t'ai on his initiative 214). The costs had been covered by the extremely wealthy minister Wang Tsin, brother of the poet Wang Wei E.

Prajña in 794. - The Kasmirian Prajña, of the Gautama clan, left his native country at the age of 14 and entered religion at the age of 20. After eighteen years of studies made partly in Nālandā, he went to South India, to the monastery of the king of Wou-tch'a (Udra,

烏茶 Odra Orissa), = whose king offered to the T'ang in 795 a Sanskrit manuscript of the Avatamsaka which was translated by Prājña (T 293: Gaṇḍavyūha) 215). „There he learns that the great saint Mañju, the young man with the five buns (pañcacāra kumārabhūta), is in Ts' ing-leang, at the Pañcaśikha (Wou-fong), and that having extinguished the fire of passions and surrounded by ten thousand Bodhisattvas, he protects the great T'ang". Prājña resolved to go to him and, after crossing the seas and crossing the mountains, he arrived in China towards the end of the Kien-tchong period (784). But Emperor Tō-tsung immediately forced him to do translation work, and he had to delay his pilgrimage. „But, in the 8th year of the cheng-yuan period (792), he returned to the palace and told the Emperor: My only wish has not yet been fulfilled: I haven't had time to visit the great Saint Mañju. I think of my previous promise and my heart is consumed. If it is not contrary to

213) Tai tsong piao tche tsi T 2120, k. 2, p. 837 c 27-29; Song kao seng chuan T 2061, k. 1, p. 713 at 17-20; Mochizuki, Chron., p. 175.

214) Tai tsong piao tche tsi T 2120, k. 2, p. 834 y.

215) Cf. Jan Yuan-hua, Orissa Historical Research Journal VII, 3-4, 1958-59, p. 125-132,

your benevolent intentions, I have sworn to go there in person. In the third moon of the 10th year of the cheng-yuan period (794), he went to Ts'ing-leang and traveled the Wu-t'ai until the beginning of autumn. In the fourth moon of the 11 year (795), he was back in the capital" 216).

The Wou-t'ai pilgrims were not recruited solely among the Indians. The Japanese Ennin (794-864), during his trip to China (838-847), stayed on the mountain from June to August 840, and describes it as the most important center of Buddhism in China with the T'ien-t'ai chan 217). According to Bu-ston 218), the Tibetan king Sron-bcan-sgam-po († 650) would have made the pilgrimage to Wou-t'ai, but, as M. Demiéville has shown, the sacred mountain should not have been known in Tibet only significantly later. The Tibetan sources which mention it are not earlier than the 9th-10th centuries 219).

IX. Devotion to Mañjuśrī.

The Tathagatas, saints, perfectly and fully enlightened, are at the very center of Buddhist metaphysics and mysticism. They exercise sovereignty (vibhutva) over all things and dominate all universes by their unimpeded penetrations (apratihatābhijñā). Their body is eternal because it merges with the Manner of being of things (tathatā), unalterable and immutable.

They are absolutely blameless (niravadya) because they have overcome the obstacle of passion (kleśāvaraṇa) and the obstacle of knowledge (jñeyāvaraṇa). They exert their automatic salvific activity

216) This information is taken from Tcheng yuan sin ting che kiao mou lou T 2157, k. 17, p. 894 c, published in 800 by the vinaya master Yuan-tchao. On Prajñā, see again Ta t'ang tcheng yuan siu k'ai yuan che kiao lou de 795, T 2156, k. 1, p. 755 sq.; Songkao Chuan seng T 2061, k. 3, p. 722 a-b.

217) See Reischauer, Ennin's Diary, New York, 1955.

218) Trans. E. Obermiller, II, p. 184-185.

219) Cf. P. Demiéville, The Council, p. 188, no. I.

callously and without effort (*anābhoga*), like those celestial musical instruments which play without being struck. They enjoy all the qualities and display them to adorn their Buddha fields. They are free from defilement because, while appearing in the world, they are not defiled by any human conjuncture. They are eminently beneficent because, by manifesting the supreme illumination (*sambodhi*) and *Nirvāṇa*, they ripen the unripe beings and deliver the already matured beings 220).

It is with good reason that, from the very origins of Buddhism, the epithets of *Sarvanarottama*, "Superior to all men", "Asama", "Without equal", *Asamasama*, "Equal to what is not" have been applied to the Buddhas. has no equal".

Nevertheless, in the *Mahāyānasūtra*, it is more often a question of *Bodhisattvas* than of Buddhas, and this partiality has not failed to intrigue the most knowledgeable specialists. As always, the solution to this problem is found in the texts themselves 221).

„It is that, Candrakīrti tells us, from the kings of the Muni (that is to say of the Buddhas) are born the *Śrāvakas* and the *Pratyekabuddhas*, and from the *Bodhisattva* is born the Buddha".

The Buddha engenders the *Śrāvaka* by teaching it exactly the law of production in dependence on phenomena (*pratītyasamutpāda*). By hearing it, reflecting on it, and meditating on it, the *Śrāvaka*, literally, "hearer", arrives at the perfect condition, holiness (*arhattva*), *Nirvāṇa*. Knowledge of the truth surely leads to *Nirvāṇa*, if not now, at least in another life.

If the Buddhas do not appear in the world and if the *Śrāvaka*

=20) Cf. *Mahāyānasamgraha*, tr. fr., p. 314-317.

221) All that follows from Candrakīrti, *Madhyamakāvatāra*, Tibetan version ed. by L. de La Vallée Poussin, St. Petersburg, 1912, p. 1-8; tr. Fr. in *Museon* 1907, p. 252-257.

have disappeared, knowledge arises in isolation among the Pratyekabuddhas. In the absence of any teaching and without the help of spiritual friends, the Pratyekabuddha discover the truth for themselves, by the sole preeminence of their merits and their knowledge. They outweigh the Śrāvaka in greatness. But, as they do not preach the truth and know only the general characteristics of things, they do not have that great compassion (mahākaruṇā) nor that omniscience (sarvajñatā) which characterize the Buddhas.

It is therefore perfectly correct to say that the Śrāvakas and the Pratyekabuddhas are born from the Buddhas. It is not the same for the Bodhisattvas, and it is only improperly that they are called Jinaputra, Victorious". The opposite is true: the Buddha came from the Bodhisattva. There are two reasons for this:

I. The state of Buddha a for antecedent to the state of Bodhisattva. One does not become a Buddha without first having been a Bodhisattva. The production of the thought of Bodhi (cittotpāda) by the Bodhisattva is the cause or the germ of the supreme and perfect Bodhi of the Buddhas. The Bodhisattva is the shoot from which the Buddha (buddhānkura) will emerge. If we admire these great trees of healing (bhaiṣajyataru) that are the Buddhas, let us not forget the humble shoot from which these trees derive their vitality.

2. Scripture tells us that Blessed Śākyamuni and other Tathāgata, early in their careers, were induced to take the thought of enlightenment by Arya Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva.

In the Ajātasatrukaukrtyavinodana, Śākyamuni delights in rendering to the Bodhisattva this solemn testimony:

If today I am Buddha, if I possess the 32 marks (lakṣaṇa) and the 80 sub-marks (anuvyañjana), majesty and nobility, if I save all the beings of the ten regions, all this is a favor of Mañjuśrī. Once upon a time he was my master. In the past, countless Buddhas were all disciples of Mañjuśrī, and future Buddhas too will be led by his majestic and benevolent force. Just as, in the world, everything

child has a father and a mother, thus in the religion of the Buddha, Mañjuśrī is the father and the mother 222).

The maternal role of Mañjuśrī merges with that of the Perfection of wisdom: the mother who engenders the Tathāgata, holy, perfectly and fully enlightened, who shows them omniscience and initiates them into the world which she presents to them as void, etc." 223)

If the Bodhisattvas engender the Buddhas, from whom do they themselves come? Their generation is all spiritual.

It is the thought of compassion (*karuṇācitta*), knowledge free from duality (*advaya-jñāna*) and the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) which are the cause of the Sons of the Victorious.

Compassion is the indispensable condition of this blessed harvest which are the Bodhisattvas. The compassionate, indeed, suffering by the suffering of others and wanting to protect all those who suffer, will certainly produce this thought: „It is absolutely necessary that I apply myself to the conquest of the state of Buddha by withdrawing all this universe. This resolution cannot be realized outside of knowledge free from duality, free from the pairs of extremes (*antadvaya*), being and non-being, etc. Knowledge free from duality leads to the thought of enlightenment which penetrates all principles as adventitious and unstable, and identical with *dharma-dhātu*. This thought is undefiled (*vimala*) and indestructible (*akṣara*) because it bears on the emptiness (*śūnyata*) of all things, on absence of characters (*ānimitta*), on their non-value (*apranihita*).

The Bodhisattvas are the shoot (*āṅkura*) which arises from the great

222) *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana* T 629, p. 451 at 14-19. --On the innumerable Buddhas brought to enlightenment by Mañjuśrī, above: III, sub fine.

223) It is commonplace to give the *Prajñāpāramitā* as the "Mother" of the Buddhas: cf. *Aṣṭasah.*, p. 254: *Eṣā hi mātā janayitrī taṭhāgatānām arhatām samyaksambuddhānām asyāḥ sarvajñatāyā darśayitrī* | *okasya ca samdarśayitrī* Haribhadra in his *Aloka*, p 531, explains: *lokasya samdarśayitrī śūnyatādirūpeṇāvagamāt*.—See for details Hôbôgirin, p. 209; Demiéville, *Le Concile*, p. 90, n. 4.

compassion, while the Buddhas are the distant fruit (phala).

It is for this reason that the Buddhas praise the Bodhisattvas:

Just as one venerates the new moon and not the full moon, so those who have faith in me must venerate the Bodhisattvas and not the Tathāgata. And for what reason? Because the Tathāgata derive their origin from the Bodhisattvas. On the other hand, from the Tathāgata, proceed all the Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha 224).

This is how between Mañjuśrī and the adepts of the Great Vehicle, more specifically the Madhyamika, relations of trusting friendship were established. Druma, the king of the Kimnara, declares to Ajāta-śatru: „You have gained great benefits: you have obtained the Buddha Bhagavat and Mañjuśrī as spiritual friends (kalyāṇamitra)” 225). And the Buddha himself notifies Sariputra: Mañjuśrī is the father and mother of the Bodhisattvas, and he is their spiritual friend” 226). The devotee who pronounces his name, who recites his Sūtras, who contemplates his statue draws enormous advantages: he saves thousands of Kalpa from the pains of transmigration, escapes evil destinies, is reborn in the family of the Buddhas and in the pure lands. Śrāvaka, he quickly obtains the state of Arhat; Mahayanist, he becomes without delay a bodhisattva without recoil (avaivartika).

With the decadence of Buddhism or, if you prefer, with the development of the Tantric Vehicle, the cult of Mañjuśrī gains even more importance. In the 7th century and perhaps earlier, pilgrimages were organized to Gandhamādana, Gośṛṅga, Wout'ai shan, towards these mountains with five peaks where the great Bodhisattva is supposed to reside.

224) Kasyapaparivarta § 88: Yathāpi nāma, Kāśyapa, navacandro namaskriyate, sa caiva pūrṇacandro na tathā namaskriyate, evam eva, Kāśyapa, ye mama śraddadhanti tair balavan- tataram bodhisattva namaskartavyaḥ, na tathāgata ḥ. tat kasya hetoḥ, bodhisattvanirjātā hi tathāgataḥ. See again Śraddhabalādhānāvātārasūtra T 305, k. 5, p. 958 c: All Buddhas are born from Bodhisattvas... That is why those who honor Bodhisattvas honor Tathāgata Buddhas; those who slander the Bodhisattvas slander the Buddhas of the three times.

225) Drumakimnaraṇāparipṛccha T 625, k. 4, p. 385b 20-21.

226) Ajātaśatruṛājasūtra T 626, k. I, p. 394b 18-20.

But pilgrims are always disappointed. They never meet Mañjuśrī, except in a dream. The reason is that, from the point of view of absolute truth (paramarthasatya), the Bodhisattva is only a name and does not exist at all. Being of Bodhi, deriving all his reality from the thought of Bodhi, Mañjuśrī himself declared that Bodhi and thought are nowhere to be found 227).

The only way to find Mañjuśrī is to make it the object of one's meditations and to adorn one's own thought by displaying all the qualities (guṇavyūha) of the great Bodhisattva. Yet this mystical game is fallacious because it implies duality. Now the doctrine preached by Mañjuśrī is precisely non-duality:

„In my opinion, he said, on anything there can be no word, no discourse, no statement, no knowledge. Dismissing questions and answers, that is how to enter into the doctrine of non-duality" 228).

Mental silence is the attitude of the sage because, alone, it assures appeasement.

²²⁷⁾ *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha* T 310, k. 59, p. 345 b 7-9.

²²⁶⁾ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* T 475, k. 2, p. 551 c 18-19.